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BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

L I V E S

OF THE

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED AN INTRODUCTORY

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES,

FROM THE DISCOVERY

TILL THE

TIME OF WASHINGTON.

BY HENRY C. WATSON,

AUTHOR OF "CAMP FIRES OF THE REVOLUTION," "NIGHTS IN A BLOCK-HOUSE," ETC., ETC.



BOSTON:

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PREFACE.

THESE memoirs of the Presidents of the United States have been composed and arranged upon a plan having some claim to novelty. An introductory chapter traces the history of the country up to the time when the first of our chief magistrates appeared in the public arena, and the ensuing biographies contain everything of importance in our subsequent career as a nation; so that while we give complete lives of the men, we also give the whole history of the mighty republic, over whose destinies they have been called to preside. It is believed that this design lends the work an interest beyond that which would arise from a simple succession of memoirs.

We have reason to be proud of our country; so vast are its resources; so peculiar is its career; so beneficent to mankind is its destiny; and, in our opinion, we have a no less solid foundation for self-satisfaction in regard to the choice of our people for the chief magistracy. Here is no succession of one great man and a line of debased or imbecile descendants; here is no array of tyrants and profligates,

relieved by one or two admirable characters ; but we have here those whom the people of each period thought most fitted by nature and education to carry out the provisions of the constitution.

First of our Presidents comes George Washington—whom we are quite willing to compare with any George that ever succeeded to a throne ; yet, even this peerless man we could not allow to found a dynasty. When he retired from the scene of public toil, our people selected the ablest and best of his compatriots to fulfil the duties of the chief magistracy—the great orator, diplomatist, and war-minister of the revolution, John Adams ; then the author of the Declaration of Independence, and the apostle of Democracy, Thomas Jefferson ; and James Madison and James Monroe were successively chosen for their administrative ability.

After these, the people displayed their detestation of all attempts at regular succession, in a more unequivocal way. Acting upon the suspicion that a clique in a certain state were arranging nominations for the dominant party, they brought forward a great general of the West, and, with almost unprecedented enthusiasm, placed him in office. The two terms of his administration furnish a remarkable illustration of the generous disposition of the masses to sustain their President in the performance of his duties in spite of the clamours of unscrupulous faction, or the combinations of those powers which are hostile to the true liberty of the nation. The bold, able, and decisive administration of

Andrew Jackson is a very striking period in the history of the republic. His successors in office were men of whom any country might have been proud—men of energy, ability, patriotism, and much public service. We have but to mark the characters and the deeds of our Presidents, to acquire a new faith in the stability as well as the beneficence of our institutions.

In the ensuing pages we have endeavoured to avoid partiality. The rise and the progress of the great political parties are narrated, but their distinctive dogmas have received neither praise nor censure. This course seemed to us to be most proper in a work designed for general circulation. Such books are read for their facts, and not for their opinions; and the intelligent reader may consider the latter impertinent.

The most thrilling and striking events in the history of the country are illustrated; and a portrait gallery including accurate likenesses of all the Presidents, will, it is hoped, add to the attractions of the book. No research or available talent has been spared to render the "LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS" a work deserving a place in every American library.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY HISTORY	Page 13
GEORGE WASHINGTON	37
JOHN ADAMS	177
THOMAS JEFFERSON	200
JAMES MADISON	257
JAMES MONROE	324
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS	342
ANDREW JACKSON	367
MARTIN VAN BUREN	412
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON	426
JOHN TYLER	442
JAMES KNOX POLK	453
ZACHARY TAYLOR	548
MILLARD FILLMORE	592
FRANKLIN PIERCE	615

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Frontispiece—Battle of Monmouth.	
Portrait of George Washington	Page 36
Battle of Bunker Hill	59
Battle of Trenton	86
Battle of Eutaw Springs	135
Tailpiece	174
Portrait of John Adams	176
Tailpiece—Capture of the Insurgent	199
Portrait of Thomas Jefferson	201
Tailpiece	254
Portrait of James Madison	256
Battle of Little York	288
Battle of Queenstown	273
Constitution and Guerriere	268
Battle of Lake Erie	301
Battle of Lundy's Lane	317
Tailpiece—Battle of New Orleans	323
Portrait of James Monroe	325
Portrait of John Quincy Adams	343
Portrait of Andrew Jackson	366
Battle of New Orleans	397
Tailpiece	411

Portrait of Martin Van Buren	413
Tailpiece	425
Portrait of William Henry Harrison	427
Tailpiece	441
Portrait of John Tyler	443
Tailpiece	450
Portrait of James Knox Polk	452
Tailpiece	547
Portrait of Zachary Taylor	549
Portrait of Millard Fillmore	593
Tailpiece	612
Portrait of Franklin Pierce	614

L I V E S

OF THE

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

TRADITION and some records, which history does not yet adopt, assert that America was known to Europeans as early as the tenth century. However that may be, the discovery, if made, led to no important results. In 1492, Christopher Columbus, a Genoese navigator, under the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella, sovereigns of Spain, after sailing westward, with the hope of finding a new passage to India, discovered the island of Guanahana, one of the Bahamas. He also discovered and landed upon several of the islands which are situated in the neighbourhood of the Bahamas. He gave them the general name of the West Indies, believing them to be near the westerly region of India. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, who voyaged to the newly discovered region soon after Columbus, was the first person who proclaimed to Europe that another continent had been found, and in compliment to him, it was called America. In the mean time, John Cabot and his son Sebastian, sailing under the patronage of England, were the first adventurers who reached the shores of the continent. (1498.)

The English founded a claim to North America upon the discoveries of the Cabots.

But many years elapsed before the English effected any settlement in America. The first attempt was made by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who, in the month of June, 1578, obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, authorizing him to plant a colony in that country. Gilbert's project failed: but it was afterwards resumed by his half-brother, the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh, who, in 1584, obtained a patent similar to that which had been granted to Gilbert, and next year planted a colony at the mouth of the Roanoke, naming the country Virginia, in honour of his royal mistress. But all these settlers, as well as others who crossed the Atlantic during the next twenty years, either perished by famine and disease, or by the hands of the Indians, or returned to England.

Although the attempt to plant colonies in America had hitherto proved unsuccessful, yet it was not abandoned. Accordingly, in the year 1606, James I. granted letters patent to two companies: the one, composed of adventurers belonging to London, was named the First, or Southern colony of Virginia, and was ordered to settle between 34° and 41° of latitude; the other, consisting of merchants belonging to Bristol, Plymouth, and Exeter, was called the Second, or Northern colony, and was authorized to make its settlement between 38° and 45° , but at the distance of at least 100 miles from the other colony. The territory granted to the first company was called Virginia, without any distinguishing epithet; but, in the year 1614, the territory assigned to the second company was called New England, a name which designated the country on the east of the Hudson.

The first, or London company, sent out 110 emigrants, who, on the 29th of April, 1607, arrived on the coast of Virginia, at a point which, in honour of the Prince of Wales,

they named Cape Henry. They afterwards formed a settlement on James' river, and founded Jamestown.

In the year 1609 many of the nobility and gentry joined the London company, and obtained a new charter in the name of the "Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London, for the first Colony of Virginia." The charter bestowed on the company the absolute property of the country for 200 miles to the south of Cape Comfort, and as far to the north of that point, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Thus, the king of England bestowed on a few of his subjects, as a magnificent present, about 6° of latitude, and upwards of 50° in longitude, the property of many independent tribes. The vast extent of the grant was not then, indeed, distinctly understood; but this ignorance did not lessen the extravagance and injustice of the pretension of the king of England to deprive so many independent nations of their territorial property, and transfer it to his own people.

The company was empowered to make ordinances for the colony, and for those at sea on their way to it; and was exempted from all subsidies in Virginia for twenty-one years; and from all imposts on goods exported or imported from England, or any other part of the king's dominions, "excepting the five pounds in the hundred due for customs."

The adventurers, elated by anticipated wealth, fitted out nine ships, provided with everything deemed necessary for the settlement of a permanent colony. They procured 500 emigrants, although they gave them no adequate encouragement. Only seven of the ships arrived in safety at their place of destination.

By the nature of the country and climate, their own inexperience, their dissensions, the hostility of the natives, and want of provisions, the colonists rapidly disappeared; and of the 500 who had sailed from England, only sixty

remained at the end of six months after reaching the American shore.

The colony would have been completely destroyed, but for the energy and prudence of Captain John Smith, who deserves his title of the "Father of Virginia." The remnant of the colonists were relieved by Lord Delaware, who brought new emigrants and ample supplies for the settlement. His lordship soon re-established order; but his health declining, he was obliged to sail for England early in the year 1611. On his departure disorder again appeared; but Sir Thomas Dale arriving in the month of May, with a new body of emigrants, and cattle and provisions for a year, the colony once more assumed the appearance of prosperity. The adventurers obtained a new charter, which confirmed the two former, and also granted them all the islands in the ocean within 300 leagues of the coast of Virginia. The corporation was also new modelled, and received a license to open lotteries in any part of England, for promoting the interests of the colony, by which they raised £29,000.

Sir Thomas Gates arrived in the colony in the month of August, 1611, and administered its affairs till the beginning of the year 1614; when the government again fell into the hands of Sir Thomas Dale, to whom the Virginians owe the introduction of landed property. In 1615 he assigned fifty acres of land to every emigrant and his heirs; but in the beginning of the year 1616 he sailed for England, leaving the government in the hands of Sir George Yeardley. In the course of this year the cultivation of tobacco, which had been originally brought from Tobago to England, was introduced into Virginia.

Mr. Argal arrived as deputy-governor in May, 1617, and published various edicts. His government was imprudent and oppressive; and in order to remedy the evils of his administration, the treasurer and council of the corpora-

tion appointed Sir George Yeardley captain-general of the colony, with power to inquire into grievances and to redress them. Sir George arrived in Virginia in April, 1619, and soon announced his intention of calling a general assembly; a measure which excited much joy among a people who had hitherto been subject to the arbitrary authority of the prince, the selfish edicts of an English corporation, or the capricious orders of a haughty governor, without any of the privileges of freemen.

In the month of June, the captain-general issued writs for the election of delegates. The colony had been divided into seven hundreds, or distinct settlements, which seemed to enjoy some of the privileges of boroughs, and hence the assembly of delegates received the name of the House of Burgesses. The governor and council of state, who were appointed by the treasurer and company, and the burgesses who were chosen by the people, met in one chamber, and discussed all matters relating to the interests of the whole community. This improvement in the constitution gave the people much satisfaction. It produced the best effects on the affairs of the colony, and the emigrants began to form more permanent settlements than they had hitherto done.

In the course of this year government ordered the company to transport 100 convicts to Virginia, and these outcasts of society were very acceptable to the colonists. The next year a Dutch ship brought to the colony a cargo of negroes from the coast of Africa. The Virginians readily bought them.

While the Virginians were thus introducing slavery into their colony, their constitution underwent a change. The treasurer and company decreed that henceforth there should be two councils in the colony; the one, nominated by the treasurer and company, and removable at pleasure, was to be called the Council of State, and was to advise the

governor in the administration of affairs: the other was to be called the General Assembly, and was to consist of the governor and council, and of two burgesses, chosen by the inhabitants from each town, hundred, or settlement in the colony. The assembly was to enact laws, but the governor was to have a negative. No law was to be in force till confirmed by the general court in England; and no order of the general court was to bind the colony till it received the assent of the assembly.

The company having offered lands to such as chose to emigrate, upwards of 3000 persons passed into the colony. These emigrants took possession of the territory of the Indians, without paying them any price for it, and not even asking their permission to settle there. This naturally gave offence: the Indians meditated revenge; and in the year 1622, by a simultaneous attack on all the settlements, they massacred 347 persons without regard to age or sex. To the horrors of the tomahawk and scalping-knife the miseries of famine were soon added; and of eighty plantations that were fast filling up, in a short time no more than eight remained. Only about 1800 of the colonists survived these calamities.

Frequent complaints having been made to King James against the treasurer and company, he required them to surrender their grants; and on their refusal, he brought them before the Court of King's Bench, which, in 1624, with a courtly complaisance, decided agreeably to his wishes. The king seemed to consider the colonies as his private property, which he was entitled to manage according to his pleasure; and hence he affected to take them under his own immediate care. Charles I. followed the same arbitrary course. Discontent and confusion ensued; and prosperity departed from the colony.

During the civil wars in England, the Virginians maintained their allegiance to the king; but, in the month of

October, 1650, after the parliamentary forces had completely gained the ascendant, a strong armament was sent out to establish the authority of the commonwealth in the colony. With this force the colonists were not in a condition to contend, and therefore they prudently agreed to a capitulation; in which it was stipulated "that the plantation of Virginia, and all the inhabitants thereof, shall enjoy such freedom and privileges as belong to the free people of England; that the general assembly shall convene as formerly; that the people of Virginia shall have a free trade, as the people of England, to all places and with all nations; that Virginia shall be free from all customs, taxes, and impositions whatsoever, and that none shall be imposed on them without the consent of the general assembly; and that neither forts nor castles shall be erected, nor garrisons maintained, without their consent." The Virginians, amounting at that time to about 30,000 souls, had a strong predilection for the royal government; and during the protectorship numbers of royalists emigrated to the colony. On the death of Cromwell, they proclaimed Charles II., and were forward in testifying their allegiance to the house of Stuart.

The settlement of Massachusetts was next to that of Virginia in order of time. In the year 1614 Captain Smith explored the coast with much care between Penobscot and Cape Cod. He presented a chart and description of it to Charles, Prince of Wales, who was so well pleased with the country that he called it New England, a name which has since been applied to the States east of the Hudson.

Religious persecution led to the settlement of this region. The zealous dissenters from the established church of England, called "Puritans," suffered many hardships from the intolerance of the government. A number of them first fled to Holland, and then formed the design of emigrating to the new world, to enjoy unmolested their peculiar

religious worship. They applied to the Virginia company for a patent, and it was not unwilling to favour their views. They solicited full freedom of conscience, but this the king declined granting under the great seal: he promised, however, not to molest them, so long as they behaved themselves peaceably.

The first band of the pilgrim fathers, consisting of 101 persons, reached Cape Cod at break of day on the 9th of November, 1620. Observing that they were beyond the limits of the company's patent, they thought themselves released from all superior authority; and, therefore, even before landing, they formed themselves into a "civil body politic under the crown of England, for the purpose of framing just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices," to which they promised all due submission and obedience. Forty-one persons signed this contract.

They settled at a place, which, in affectionate remembrance of the English port from which they had sailed, they named New Plymouth. The winter, although mild for that climate, was more rigorous than what the emigrants had been accustomed to; and the severity of the weather, with the hardships naturally rising out of their situation, occasioned a great mortality among them. Before the end of March, they buried forty-four of their number; among whom were twenty-one who had signed the contract.

In the beginning of November a ship arrived with thirty-five new settlers from London. This addition to their strength revived their spirits and stimulated their exertions; but, although at an early period they had made friendly arrangements with the Indians for the territory which they occupied, yet they had many difficulties to struggle with, and their number increased but slowly.

In the year 1628, Massachusetts Bay, so named after the *sachem* or chief of that part of the country, was purchased

from the Plymouth Council, and a company formed for establishing a settlement there. This company, under the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," received a charter empowering them to make laws and ordinances for the good government of the plantation, not contrary to the laws of the realm. They were exempted from all custom or subsidy for seven years; and from duties on goods exported or imported for twenty-one years, excepting the old five per cent. custom on imports, after the expiration of the seven years. The first emigrants under this company settled at Salem; but religious dissensions soon disturbed their peace. However, the colony prospered. The arbitrary measures of Charles, and the persecuting principles of Laud, increased the number of the emigrants; and in about twenty years after the first settlement, 4000 families, consisting of upwards of 21,000 souls, passed into New England, in 298 vessels.

The governor and company removed from London to Massachusetts; and, instead of the appearance of a corporation, they soon assumed the form of a commonwealth. "They apprehended themselves subject to no other laws or rules of government than what arose from natural reason and the principles of equity, except any positive rules from the word of God." Their religious notions were deeply blended with all their civil proceedings.

The freemen appeared personally in the general court till the month of May, 1634; when, for the first time, they sent twenty-four deputies as their representatives. These deputies, with the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, formed the legislature of the colony. They met, deliberated, and voted together in one chamber till March, 1644, when it was resolved that the governor and assistants should sit in a separate apartment. Hence the house of representatives became a distinct body.

As the number of emigrants increased, they spread themselves more widely over the country; and, so early as the year 1635, some families settled on Connecticut river, and formed plantations in different places. The Protector treated the New England settlers with much tenderness; and Charles II. gave them charters with extensive powers.

But no external circumstances could impart comfort and happiness to such a people; for the elements of discord and mischief were treasured up in their own turbulent tempers.

The New Englanders admitted none to a participation in their civil privileges who were not members of their church communion. Although they had fled from persecution, they became fierce persecutors, and could show no indulgence to any religious folly but their own. They whipped, banished, or imprisoned Anabaptists, Quakers, and others: they measured everything by the standard of their own creed. These quarrels, like the confusion of tongues at Babel, were the means of dispersing the settlers more widely over the country.

Roger Williams, an earnest, able, and free-spoken minister of Salem, being driven from the colony in January, 1636, led a few zealous friends into the wilderness, and founded Rhode Island. This colony increased rapidly, as religious freedom was guarantied to all, and as the peaceful policy of Williams averted Indian hostility. Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, a zealous preacher, joined Williams with a band of followers, and the Quakers generally took refuge in Rhode Island.

The colonists of New England suffered but little from the hostility of the Indians during fifty years from the first settlement. But in 1675, Philip, of Pokanoket, a Wampanoag chief of great energy and ability, formed a confederacy of tribes for the purpose of exterminating the whites, whom he deemed invaders and robbers. The war

took the colonists by surprise, and the tomahawk and firebrand were plied everywhere to the extensive destruction of life and property. Many towns were burned. Others were deserted by the inhabitants. But at length, the colonists of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut united their forces, and prosecuted the war so vigorously that Philip was reduced to extremities. Deserted by most of his followers, this gallant chief was at length surprised and slain at Mount Hope. With his death ended the contest of which he had been the leading spirit. The colonists sustained great losses during this war, and the progress of the settlements received a considerable check; but vessels laden with emigrants continued to arrive, and, in the calm of peace, the country revived. The foundations of the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine were now securely laid.

In 1692, the colonists displayed a very extraordinary frenzy in regard to what is known in history as the "Salem witchcraft." Suspicions and accusations of witchcraft became general among them; and on this fanciful charge many persons were put to death. This singular visitation first showed itself in the town of Salem. An ignorant minister of a church there, had two daughters subject to convulsions. He fancied they were bewitched; and fixed his suspicions on an Indian girl who lived in the house, as the accomplice and tool of Satan in the matter. By harsh treatment he made the poor savage acknowledge herself a witch. Among a people like the New Englanders, this was throwing a firebrand into a powder magazine; and the explosion was dreadful. Every woman subject to hysterical affections instantly believed herself bewitched; and was seldom at a loss to discover the guilty cause of her malady. Persons accused of the imaginary crime of witchcraft were imprisoned, condemned, hanged, and their bodies left exposed to wild beasts and birds of prey. Counsellors

who refused to plead against these devoted victims, and judges who were not forward in condemning them, were doomed to share their fate, as accomplices in their guilt. Children of ten years of age were put to death; young women were stripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft sought for on their bodies with unblushing curiosity. Scorbatical or other spots on the bodies of old men were reckoned clear proofs of a heinous commerce with infernal powers. Dreams, apparitions, prodigies of every kind, increased the general consternation and horror. The prisons were filled, the gibbets left standing, and the citizens were appalled. Under this frightful delirium, the miserable colonists seemed doomed to destruction by each others' hands. The more prudent withdrew from a country polluted by the blood of its inhabitants, and the ruin of the colony seemed inevitable; when, ceasing to receive countenance from those in authority, this awful frenzy passed away, almost as suddenly as it had arisen.

New England, although often agitated by internal dissensions, civil and religious, and assailed by savage hostility, continued to grow in population and resources. On all occasions, the people evinced a determined and independent spirit, which the English government strove in vain to quell.

In the month of June, 1632, Charles I. granted to Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, who enjoyed a large share of royal favour, the country on the north of Chesapeake Bay, and called it *Maryland*, in honour of his queen Henrietta Maria. He empowered his lordship, with the consent of the freemen or their delegates, whom he was bound to assemble for the purpose, to make all necessary laws for the colony not inconsistent with the laws of England; and authorized him to execute the acts of assembly. There was no clause in the charter binding the colonists to transmit their acts to the king for approbation or dissent. Charles

reserved to himself and his heirs for ever, imposts, duties, and customs, which the colonists were bound to pay; but he declared in the same charter, that "we and our heirs and successors, shall at no time set and make, or cause to be set, any imposition, custom, or taxation on the inhabitants of the province for their lands, goods, tenements, or chattels, within the said province."

The first emigrants, consisting of 200 gentlemen of considerable fortune, with their adherents, chiefly Roman Catholics, who hoped, under a proprietary of their own religious persuasion, to enjoy the liberty of conscience which was denied them in England. They sailed in the month of November, and landed in Maryland early in the year 1633.

Governor Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore, wisely and justly purchased the land from the Indians, and, with their free consent, took possession of their town, which he called St. Mary's. The colony was judiciously governed, and soon became populous and flourishing.

An assembly of freemen was held at St. John's in February, 1639, when an act was passed for establishing the house of assembly. The legislative body was afterwards divided into an upper and a lower house; they who were called by special writ constituting the first, and they who were chosen by the hundreds forming the last.

The Popish colony of Maryland afforded a refuge to numbers of Puritans, whom their Protestant brethren in Virginia could not endure. While the Puritans of New England persecuted all who did not embrace their own notions, and while, in retaliation, the adherents of Episcopacy in Virginia showed no indulgence to the Puritans, the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland set an example of toleration, little practised, at that time, even in Protestant communities.

The civil wars in England were the occasion of con-

siderable disturbances in Maryland: but, notwithstanding the commotions which agitated the colony, it still increased, and at the restoration its population was estimated at 12,000 souls. Slavery was early admitted into Maryland.

Carolina, which in order of settlement follows next after Maryland, owes its origin to the rapacity of the courtiers of Charles II., and to the facility of that monarch in rewarding his favourites and tools with a liberality which cost him nothing. About the time of the restoration, indeed, a few restless adventurers from Massachusetts had settled round Cape Fear; but, in the year 1663, Charles, who had no religion, on pretence of a pious zeal for propagating the gospel among the Indians, granted to a few of his courtiers, under the name of the province of Carolina, the extensive region, in America, lying between 36° and 31° north latitude. The grant was afterwards somewhat enlarged both to the south and north, and extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The charter appears to have been copied from that of Maryland, and invested the proprietors with very extensive powers.

In 1680, Charleston was founded on Oyster Point, formed by the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper. It was long unhealthy; but since the adjacent country has been cleared and cultivated, it is as salubrious as any other part of the province.

A system of laws for the government of the colony was framed by the celebrated Locke; but those laws did not give satisfaction, and were at last abrogated. There was much discontent and quarrelling in the province, owing partly to the misconduct of persons in authority, and partly to the restless and turbulent character of the settlers.

In the year 1728 an Indian war broke out, in which the savages were supported by the French and Spaniards. The

proprieters, finding themselves unable to maintain the contest, resolved to surrender their charter to the crown. They surrendered it accordingly; and in 1735, Carolina was divided into two provinces, North and South, and each put under its own governor.

New York and New Jersey were first planted by the Dutch, who called them the New Netherlands. Their chief settlement was on the Island of Manhattan or New York. But, in 1664, Charles II. granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the country extending from the west bank of the river Connecticut to the eastern bank of the Delaware, with the power of civil and military government. An officer, with a suitable naval and military force, was sent out to carry the grant into effect; and the Dutch, unprepared for a struggle, were easily subdued.

In 1673, the Dutch government, by a sudden attack, gained possession of the place, but resigned it to the English by the peace of the following year. The grant to the Duke of York was renewed; and for almost twenty years the colony was governed according to the will of his deputies. But in 1682 the duke admitted the people to a share in the legislative power. This concession, however, he refused to ratify on his accession to the throne; and during his short reign he governed the colony as a conquered province.

After the revolution in England, some commotions happened in New York; and Jacob Leister, a man of no education, who had usurped the supreme authority, was tried and executed as a traitor.

William Penn, the celebrated Quaker, who had acquired joint property in the western parts of the Jerseys, became desirous of acquiring a separate right to the territory on the west of the Delaware. Accordingly, in 1680, he applied to Charles II., stated his claims, alleged that he had been deprived of a debt due to him by the crown, and prayed

that, as a compensation, he might receive a grant of the lands lying north of Maryland, and west of the Delaware. He succeeded in his application, and received a charter, in which it was declared, "that no custom or other contribution shall be laid on the inhabitants or their estates unless by the consent of the proprietary, or governor and assembly, or *by act of parliament in England.*" Penn was empowered to assemble the freemen or their delegates, in such form as he should think proper, for raising money for the use of the colony, and for making useful laws, not contrary to the laws of England, or to the rights of the kingdom.

Penn paid a proper attention to the rights of the Indians, and satisfied them for the territory of which he took possession. He was much attached to James II., and seems to have had considerable interest with that royal bigot, whom he importuned for a grant of the Delaware colony, although both he and James were perfectly aware that Lord Baltimore had a legal claim to that territory. But he was successful in his application; and obtained the town of Newcastle, with a territory of twelve miles round, and the tract of land extending southward on the Delaware to Cape Henlopen. Without any regard to the claims of Lord Baltimore, he immediately assumed the rights of jurisdiction; which led to a discussion productive of considerable irritation and inconveniency to both.

At the revolution, Penn was considered a devoted adherent of James, and for a time was excepted in the acts of grace published by William and Mary. But in 1696 he had again so far ingratiated himself at court as to be restored to his right of nominating a governor.

Pennsylvania, like most of the other colonies, was occasionally much agitated by internal dissensions. The foundation of Philadelphia, the capital of the province, was laid about the end of the year 1682.

The Delaware colony, at one time named the Territories,

consisted of the three counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, commonly called The Three Lower Counties on the Delaware.

The representatives of Pennsylvania and of the Territories at one time met together; but having disagreed and separated, all attempts to reunite them proved ineffectual.

The contest between Lord Baltimore and Mr. Penn was referred to the committee of plantations, who decided that the peninsula between the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware should be divided into two equal parts, by a line drawn from the latitude of Cape Henlopen to the fortieth degree, and adjudged that the lands lying from that line towards the Delaware should belong to the king, and the other half to Lord Baltimore. This adjudication was ordered to be immediately executed.

Georgia, the southernmost of the thirteen states, began to be planted in 1732. In that year a number of gentlemen obtained from the crown a grant of the territory between the Savannah and Alatomaha. They intended it as a bulwark, on the southern frontier, against the incursions of the Spaniards; and also as a means of settling numbers of people, who were burdensome at home to their friends and parishes. Under the name of Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia, the adventurers were constituted a corporation for twenty-one years; and after the expiration of that term, the governor and all officers were to be appointed by the crown.

The infant colony was encouraged and supported by the bounty of government, and by the liberality of individuals. The first settlers reached the place of their destination early in 1733, and in the month of February of that year began to build the first house of the town of Savannah. The colonists entered into a treaty with the Creek nation, and were thus saved from the dangers of Indian hostility. In 1742, Georgia was invaded by about 5000 Spaniards,

aided by Indian auxiliaries; but the attack was foreseen and bravely repelled.

From the preceding sketch, it is established that the American colonies were originally formed by persons of very different sentiments, characters, and habits; and, being spread along the coast over an extent of twenty degrees of latitude, the variety of climate, soil, and employment, contributed to increase the original difference of character, and to modify the bodily figure and constitution of the colonists.

While the English colonies were spreading rapidly, the French settled in Canada, gained a vast influence over the Indians, and seemed determined to secure the rich valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio, by a great chain of posts. The two nations were thus brought in conflict for the dominion of the New World; and from the accession of William III. to the British crown till the termination of the Seven Years' War in 1762, they were in a state of almost continual hostility. The French were the most active, skilful, and politic; but the steady progress of the English could not be resisted.

When hostilities commenced in Europe between William III. of England, and Louis XIV. of France, the rival colonists in America began to annoy each other. (1689.) The French, in conjunction with their Indian allies, made predatory incursions into different parts of New England; and a war of this kind, attended with much expense, and no little individual misery, was for some time carried on.

It was frequently intended, by the ministry in Great Britain, to send an armament into North America for the protection of the colonies, and the invasion of Canada; but the affairs of Europe requiring all their attention, the settlers were obliged to arm in their own defence. At length, Colonel Nicholson was despatched to England, in order to represent the state of the country to Queen Anne,

and to petition for such assistance as would enable them to attack the French in their possessions, and to deliver themselves from an enemy who was both troublesome and dangerous. Soon after, Nicholson returned with five frigates and a bomb-ketch; but the colonies were to furnish the troops which might be requisite for the expedition. It was resolved to attack Port-Royal in Acadia. The whole armament, consisting of one regiment of marines, and four regiments of provincials, sailed from Boston (1707), and invested the place, which surrendered without opposition. Vetch was appointed governor; and the name of the town was changed from Port-Royal to Annapolis, in honour of the queen.

This, however, was a trifling and an ineffectual blow. More powerful aid was necessary: and Nicholson was again despatched to Europe, in order to solicit the prompt and decided interference of England. Contrary to all expectation and belief, his mission was successful. He arrived at Boston in the year 1711, with instructions to the governors of the colonies to have their proportions of men in readiness, by the time that the fleet and army should reach them from Europe. The interval was exceedingly short; but as the service was agreeable to the people, as well as the governors, they exerted themselves with unusual vigour, and all difficulties were overcome.

The General Court of Massachusetts issued bills of credit to the value of £40,000 in order to supply the money which the English treasury could not advance: the whole settlers were enjoined to furnish the army with provisions; each colony brought in the proportion which was assigned it; and all things being ready, the expedition set out from Boston on the 30th of July, and proceeded, without delay, to the river St. Lawrence. The number of troops which had arrived from Europe was considerable. They consisted of seven veteran regiments, which had fought under

the illustrious Duke of Marlborough, and one regiment of marines; and these, together with the provincials, amounted to 6500 men; a force equal to that which afterwards, under the command of Wolfe, reduced Quebec, when it was fortified with more skill, and defended by an abler general.

One fatal night blasted the hopes of the colonists. As they sailed down the river, eight of the transports were wrecked on Egg-Island; and the weather was so unfavourable, that they were more than a week in reaching Quebec. The expedition was soon after abandoned; and the treaty of Utrecht being signed in Europe, a termination was put to the war. The Indians, in the service of the French, no longer prompted to hostilities, and no longer supported by their allies, sued for peace.

During the peace, the republican spirit of the colonies in New England showed itself in disputes with their governors: and these disputes were increased by the arbitrary manner in which the governors enforced the orders of the crown. In most instances, however, the colonies had the advantage: knowing what was due to them as the subjects of England, they determined not to sacrifice any of their rights to the enjoyment of a temporary repose. They had the money of the country in their possession, and, as had been done in Europe, they might withhold the supplies of all kinds, till their object was gained.

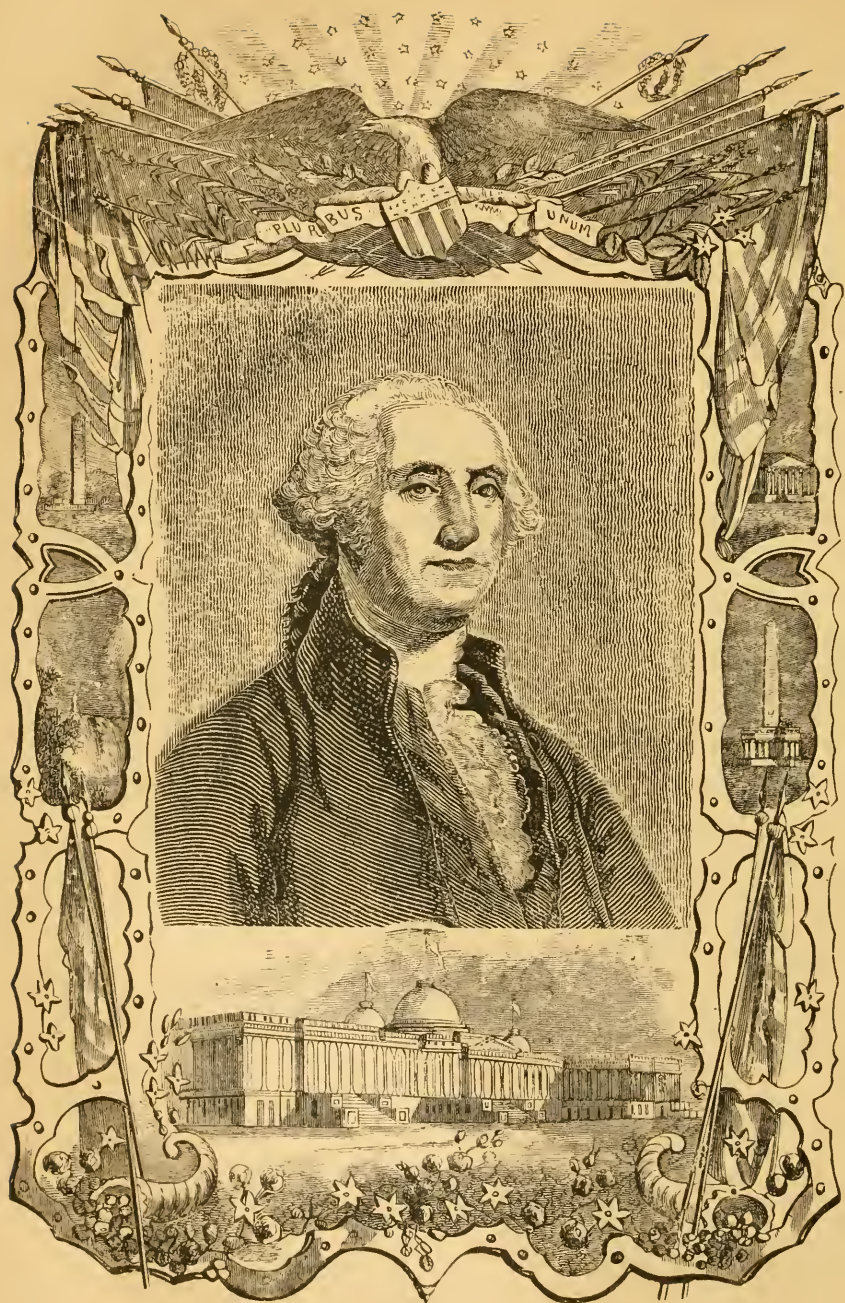
The final struggle, it was evident, could not long be averted. The prize for which the rival nations contended was worthy of their most strenuous exertions, and both seemed to be fully aware of that fact. Both accordingly increased their strength and prepared for a desperate contest.

The white population of the French colonies amounted to 52,000 men. Their whole power was marshalled under one ruler. The temper of the people, as well as the genius of the government, was military. With the exception of

the Six Nations (formerly the Five Nations, a new tribe having entered the confederacy), all the Indians were attached to France; they were trained to war after the European manner; the efficacy of their assistance had already been experienced, and their aid was the more important and valuable, as they were acquainted with the recesses of the country which was to become the theatre of war. In opposing the force, and defeating the plans of the French, the English colonies laboured under many disadvantages. They were separated into distinct governments and interests; excepting those of New England, they were altogether unaccustomed to union; they were not inured even to obedience, for they were jealous of the crown, and involved in frequent disputes with their immediate rulers. They were spread over a large territory, and in the central provinces the people had lived in such tranquillity, and for so long a time, that they were wholly unacquainted with military operations. Their population, however, exceeded that of the French greatly, and was equal to a million of souls.

Such was the state of affairs, and the condition of the combatants, when the first of the Presidents of the United States—the peerless Washington—made his appearance upon the scene of action, and first attracted the public gaze.





GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THE American citizen traces the career of the first of our Presidents with a warmer enthusiasm, and a purer admiration, than the Englishman or the Frenchman can feel, while perusing the lives of Alfred the Great or Henry the Fourth. The monarchs may have possessed great and heroic qualities. We expect to find such in those who claim to rule by divine right. The American knows that Washington sprang from among the people; that he only claimed command and authority as long as they were willing to concede them; that he ruled only because he deserved to rule; and that history mentions no man of equal ability who possessed that determination to do his whole duty to God, to man, and to his country, which ever characterized the conduct of the *Pater Patriæ*.

John Washington, the great-grandfather of George, emigrated from the north of England to Virginia, in 1657, and settled on Bridge's Creek in the county of Westmoreland. He had two sons—John and Augustine. In 1730, Augustine married his second wife—Miss Mary Ball. GEORGE WASHINGTON, the first child by this marriage, was born on the 22d of February, 1732. In his earliest years, he was distinguished from other children by an active, gentle and generous disposition. When he was but ten years of age, his father died, and the care of the family devolved upon his mother. Happily, she was fitted for her task by all the

qualities that ennoble womanhood. She secured for George a good English education—and instilled into his mind the highest principles for the regulation of his life.

Reading, writing, arithmetic, and the mathematics were successively acquired by young Washington. Although a close student, he delighted in athletic sports and military exercises. He was distinguished among his fellow-pupils not only for the accuracy of his studies, but for strength and agility. Possessing an ardent temper, he strove to acquire a perfect self-command; and there is preserved a code of conduct, which he framed to guide his course in company and conversation. That calm self-control, which was so remarkably displayed by Washington in the most stirring scenes of his life, was the result of a rigid practice in his early years.

Having gained a knowledge of surveying, Washington left school when about sixteen years of age, and secured employment from Lord Fairfax. While at school, his half-brother Lawrence had procured for him a midshipman's warrant; but the earnest entreaties of his beloved mother deterred George from entering upon a profession he ardently desired. The business of surveying the wild lands in the vicinity of the Alleghany Mountains, however, was quite as full of excitement as a career at sea. The country swarmed with Indians, seldom peaceably disposed, and the hardships of the wilderness were many. Washington performed the service with care and skill, gained an extensive knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, and established his reputation as a surveyor. He obtained a commission as a public surveyor, and continued to perform the duties of that office until he was nineteen years of age.

At that time, the province of Virginia was divided into districts, in each of which was stationed an adjutant-general with the rank of major, to muster and discipline the militia. The governor, having confidence in the ability

of young Washington, appointed him to command in one of these districts, and he immediately devoted his attention to the study of the military art. This study was interrupted by the illness of Lawrence Washington. George accompanied him to Barbadoes, and did not return to Virginia until after the death of this brother left him executor of the estate. In 1752, Governor Dinwiddie divided Virginia into four grand military departments, the most northern of which was given in charge to young Washington—a proof of the estimation in which his energy and ability were held.

Major Washington was now called upon to perform an arduous service. Governor Dinwiddie, receiving information that the active French were about to construct forts on the Ohio, determined to send a commissioner to confer with the commander of the rival forces, to inquire by what right he dared to invade the dominions of the king of England, and what were his designs. Major Washington, though but twenty-one years of age, was thought to be best qualified for this difficult and dangerous commission, and accordingly he was selected. The following instructions were given to him:—

“Whereas, I have received information of a body of French forces being assembled in a hostile manner on the river Ohio, intending by force of arms to erect certain forts on the said river within this territory, and contrary to the dignity and peace of our sovereign the king of Great Britain.

“These are therefore to require and direct you, the said George Washington, forthwith to repair to Logstown on the said river Ohio; and having there informed yourself where the said French forces have posted themselves, thereupon to proceed to such place; and, being there arrived, to present your credentials, together with my letter, to the

chief commanding officer, and in the name of his Britannic Majesty to demand an answer thereto.

“On your arrival at Logstown you are to address yourself to the Half-King, to Monacatoocha, and other sachems of the Six Nations, acquainting them with your orders to visit and deliver my letter to the French commanding officer, and desiring the said chiefs to appoint you a sufficient number of their warriors to be your safe-guard as near the French as you may desire, and wait your further direction.

“You are diligently to inquire into the numbers and force of the French on the Ohio, and the adjacent country; how they are likely to be assisted from Canada; and what are the difficulties and conveniences of that communication; and the time required for it.

“You are to take care to be truly informed what forts the French have erected, and where; how they are garrisoned and appointed, and what is their distance from each other, and from Logstown: and from the best intelligence you can procure, you are to learn what gave occasion to this expedition of the French; how they are likely to be supported, and what their pretensions are.

“When the French commandant has given you the required and necessary despatches, you are to desire of him a proper guard to protect you as far on your return, as you may judge for your safety, against any straggling Indians or hunters, that may be ignorant of your character, and molest you.

“Wishing you good success in your negotiation, and safe and speedy return, I am, &c.

“ROBERT DINWIDDIE.”*

These instructions were obeyed with remarkable fidelity.

Washington left Virginia on the 14th of November, 1753, performing a journey over mountain and torrent,

* Sparks's Writings of Washington.

through morass and forest, bearing the inclemency of the winter in a trackless wilderness. On the fifth day after his departure, he reached the mouth of Turtle Creek, on the Monongahela. Here he learned from Frazier, an Indian trader, that expresses had been sent down the river with intelligence to the traders of the French general's death, and the return of the French army to winter quarters. He then proceeded to the forks of the Ohio, ten miles below, having sent his baggage by water. Washington, when waiting for the arrival of his baggage, spent some time in viewing the present site of Pittsburgh, with reference to the building of a fort. The Ohio company had intended to have erected a fort, about two miles further up the Monongahela, on the south-east side. Washington examined both situations, and gave a decided preference to the forks of the Ohio.

Afterwards Washington, in company with Half-King, and three other sachems of the Six Nations, proceeded to Fort Venango, and then to Fort Le Boëuf, on a branch of French Creek, at which latter place they arrived on the 11th day of December. Here Washington had an interview with the commandant, showed his commission, and delivered the letter of the governor of Virginia. The French officers held a council; during which time, Washington made observations in relation to the fort; took an exact account of its situation, dimensions, and number of men in the garrison, and the number of canoes, which were in readiness to convey their forces down the river in the spring. After considerable delay, he received the answer of Legardeau de St. Pierre, the French commandant, dated at Fort Le Boëuf, referring the discussion of the rights of the two countries, to the Marquis du Quesne, governor-general of Canada, by whose orders he had assumed, and meant to maintain his present position. From De la Joncaire, a captain in the French service, and Indian interpreter,

Washington received full information of the designs of the French. They claimed the Ohio river, and the country through which it flows, from the discovery of La Salle, sixty years before, and their present measures for its defence had arisen from the attempts of the Ohio Company to occupy its banks. On Wednesday, the 26th day of December, with gun in hand, and pack on his back, in which were his papers, he set out on foot for Virginia, in company with a gentleman by the name of Gist. Their horses had become so enfeebled, that they were put in charge of one of the company, by the name of Vanbraam, with money and directions to bring them and the baggage along, with the most convenient despatch. After great hardships, and suffering from cold, and peril from hostile Indians, Washington arrived at Williamsburg, on the 16th day of January, 1754, after a tedious and dangerous journey.*

Governor Dinwiddie now perceived the necessity of vigorous measures. A considerable force was raised and organized; Colonel Fry was appointed commander-in-chief, and Washington was appointed second in command, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

The Ohio Company having determined to erect a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany, Captain Trent, with about forty men, was sent to perform the service. This party arrived at its destination late in February, 1754, and immediately began to erect a fort. On the 16th of April, Monsieur Contracœur, with a fleet of 360 batteaux, and canoes, carrying upwards of one thousand men and eighteen pieces of artillery, came down from Venango, and summoned the commander of the English to surrender. Resistance would have ended in destruction, and therefore the party surrendered.

At this time, Colonel Washington, with one hundred and

* History of Western Pennsylvania.

fifty men, was encamped at Wills Creek, at which place he had concluded a treaty with the Indians. Receiving the news of the surrender of the unfinished fort, he called a council of war, to determine upon the course to be pursued. It was resolved to march to the mouth of Redstone Creek on the Monongahela, and raise a fortification. On the 25th of April, Washington sent a detachment of sixty men to open a road. As trees had to be felled, and rocks removed, the march was slow and toilsome. After passing through the mountains, Washington reached the Youghiogheny, where he was compelled to construct a bridge. Learning that the French were coming out to meet him, he hastened forward to the Great Meadows, where he threw up an intrenchment.

Early in the morning of the 27th of May, Mr. Gist arrived in camp from his residence, which is about thirteen miles distant, and informed Colonel Washington that M. La Force, with fifty men, had been at his plantation the day before, and that on his way he had seen the tracks of the same party, five miles from the encampment at the Great Meadows. Seventy-five men were immediately despatched in pursuit of this party, but they returned without having discovered it. Between eight and nine o'clock the same night, an express arrived from Half-King, who was then six miles off, with intelligence that he had seen the tracks of Frenchmen, which had been traced to an obscure retreat, and that he imagined the whole party to be concealed within a short distance. Fearing this might be a stratagem of the French for attacking his camp, Colonel Washington put his ammunition in a place of safety, and leaving a strong guard to protect it, he set out with forty men, and reached the Indians' camp a little before sunrise, having marched through a rainy and exceedingly dark night.

On consulting with Half-King, and the other Indians of

his party, it was agreed that they should march together and make the attack in concert on the French. They then proceeded in single file through the woods, after the manner of the Indians, till they came upon the tracks of the two Frenchmen, when the Half-King sent two Indians forward to retrace these tracks, and discover the position of the main body. This was found to be in a very retired place, surrounded by rocks, and half a mile from the road. A disposition for attack was then formed, in which the English occupied the right wing and the Indians the left. In this manner they advanced, till they came so near as to be discovered by the French, who instantly ran to their arms. Washington then ordered his men to fire, and a skirmish ensued. The firing continued on both sides about fifteen minutes, till the French were defeated, with the loss of their whole party; ten men being killed, including their commander, M. de Jumonville, one wounded, and twenty-one taken prisoners. Colonel Washington's loss was one man killed and two or three wounded. The Indians escaped without injury, as the firing of the French was directed chiefly against the right wing, where Washington and his men were stationed."*

As soon as the news of the capture of the party under Jumonville reached Fort Duquesne, the French made vigorous preparations to send a force against Washington. Some of the Indians, alarmed at the prospect of such a movement, came to the Great Meadows for protection, as they had agreed to take an open part against the French. Colonel Washington immediately commenced enlarging his intrenchments, and strengthening his palisades. He gave the place thus fortified the name of Fort Necessity. His army had been increased to four hundred men. A road was cut with excessive toil, over Laurel Hill, to Gist's plantation. At that place a council of war was held,

* Sparks's Washington, vol. 2, pp. 451-2.

which resolved upon a retreat. This was commenced, but the difficulties encountered were so great, that Washington resolved to halt at Fort Necessity, and there await the attack of the enemy. The defences were much strengthened, and every preparation made for a vigorous resistance.

On the morning of the 2d of July, the approach of the enemy was announced by a wounded sentinel. At eleven o'clock they came within six hundred yards of the fort and fired, but without effect. Colonel Washington had drawn up his men outside of the trenches, and ordered them to reserve their fire till they should be near enough to do some execution. As the French and Indians did not seem inclined to assault, he then drew the men within the trenches, and ordered them to fire as opportunity presented. The enemy kept up a brisk fire of musketry during the day. The rain fell heavily, and the trenches were filled with water. About eight o'clock at night the French commander requested a parley. Washington complied. The result of the parley was an agreement upon terms of honourable capitulation. Colonel Washington, with his troops, were to march out of the fort with drums beating and colours flying, and have free and unmolested passage to the inhabited parts of Virginia. The prisoners taken in the skirmish with Jumonville were restored to the French. No more such establishments were to be built by either party, upon the disputed territory, within a year from the time of the capitulation. The next morning Colonel Washington began his march from the fort. The Indians could hardly be restrained from pilfering his baggage and attacking his men. But he succeeded in getting safely beyond their reach. After the capture of Fort Necessity, the French and Indians retired to Fort Duquesne.

The British government at last awoke to the importance of resisting the growing power of the French in America.

Two thousand men were ordered to be raised in the colonies; and two regiments of foot from Ireland were ordered to Virginia. On the 14th of January, 1754, Major-General Edward Braddock, with the regular troops, sailed from Cork, and on the 20th of February arrived in Virginia. On the 14th of April, 1755, a council was held at Alexandria, in which the plan of the campaign was fixed upon. As the chief part of that plan, General Braddock, with the British troops, and some volunteers from Maryland and Virginia, was to proceed against Fort Duquesne.

The forces destined for the expedition against Fort Duquesne, assembled at Fort Cumberland, on Wills Creek, in May. They comprised 1000 regulars, 1200 provincials, and about thirty sailors from Admiral Keppel's fleet. Colonel Washington accompanied Braddock as aid-de-camp, having, a short time previous, resigned his commission on account of a difficulty in regard to rank. While at Fort Cumberland, waiting the opening of a road through the Cumberland valley, and the arrival of horses and wagons, General Braddock gave evidence of that imprudence of temper which afterwards led to disaster. He charged the colonial governments with neglecting the expedition; and at one time, declared it should not proceed, if means of conveyance were not soon provided. Every exertion had been made of which the colonial governments were capable.

Having sent forward a detachment of five hundred men, to open the roads and erect a fort at Little Meadows, Braddock, with the main body of his army, commenced his march for Fort Duquesne. Scaroyoda and Captain Jack, Delaware sachems, with about one hundred and fifty Indians, offered to act as scouts and guides, and Colonel Washington advised the commander-in-chief to accept their services. But the self-sufficiency and military pride of

Braddock, rejected the advice with contempt. At the Little Meadows, a halt was made. Braddock then changed the plan of the march. Twelve hundred men with twelve pieces of cannon were selected, and at the head of this force, the commander-in-chief pushed on for Fort Duquesne, leaving the remainder of the troops to follow by easy marches. Crossing the Youghiogheny on the 9th of July, the troops pressed on in high spirits. At noon, they again crossed the same river, and soon after, the vanguard was fired upon as it ascended a hill, by a concealed foe. A heavy discharge of musketry was then poured in upon the right flank. The general advanced to the relief of these detachments; but before he could reach the ground they occupied, they gave way, and rushing back upon the other parts of the army, caused extreme confusion. Braddock, instead of adopting the Indian mode of warfare, endeavoured to form his men in platoons and keep them together, as if fighting upon an open battle-field. Huddled together, the troops were compelled to withstand a heavy fire for more than three hours. They fired irregularly, and did but little harm to the enemy. The French and Indians, securely posted behind trees or among the high grass, took deliberate aim, and committed terrible havoc, especially among the English officers. At length more than one-half of the army being either killed or wounded, and the general himself having received a mortal wound, the troops broke and fled in dismay. The few remaining officers endeavoured to rally them, but in vain. They shot down the men who wanted to make them stand and wait to be slaughtered. Colonel Washington, at the head of the provincials, covered the retreat. He displayed a calm courage and a consummate skill at this trying moment; and but for his exertions the day would have been far more disastrous for the English. Though constantly exposed to the fire of the enemy, he did not receive a single scratch—much

to the wonder of friends and foes. General Braddock and a few other wounded officers were brought off. But the rest of the wounded, with the artillery, ammunition, stores, and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. The fugitives were not pursued, and they arrived at the camp of Colonel Dunbar, who was coming up with the remainder of the forces engaged in the expedition. The whole loss of the English in this disastrous defeat was about six hundred and fifty men killed or wounded, including sixty-eight officers. General Braddock died four days after the battle, and was buried in the road, to conceal his grave from the Indians.

Colonel Dunbar had sufficient force to have advanced and retrieved the fortunes of the expedition. But a panic appears to have seized the troops. All the ammunition and stores unnecessary for immediate use were destroyed, and Dunbar marched for Fort Cumberland. At that place, he was met by the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, who requested that he would post some troops on the frontier to protect the inhabitants. But he continued his march, and did not think himself safe until he arrived in Philadelphia.

Colonel Washington was much dissatisfied with the conduct of the regulars in this action; but bestowed great praise upon the provincials. His own reputation was much increased by his behaviour upon this disastrous occasion.

The Assembly of Virginia, on receiving intelligence of the defeat, and of the flight of Dunbar, resolved that a regiment should be raised for the defence of the colony. The command was given to Colonel Washington, who was permitted to name his field officers. He immediately applied to the arduous duties of his post, but was unable to cover the frontier. The Indians burnt, plundered, and massacred in all directions; yet the militia could not be called into the field. Washington represented the difficul-

ties of his situation to the government—but could gain no aid, and was obliged to witness, with feelings of deep distress, the desolation of the frontier.

The defeat of Braddock was retaliated in some measure by the victory gained by General William Johnson over Baron Dieskau, at Lake George; but the year was unfortunate for the English expedition. Johnson did not follow up his triumph; and Governor Shirley, who marched against Fort Niagara, went no further than Oswego, which post was strengthened.

To form a correct view of the subsequent movements in which Washington was engaged, it will be necessary to give an account of the general operations of the war. In the spring of 1756, England declared war against France. Lord Loudon, commander-in-chief, and General Abercrombie soon afterwards arrived in the colonies, and preparations were made for active operations; but they proceeded slowly, and nothing was undertaken during the year. In the mean time, the able and daring Marquis de Montcalm had been appointed commander-in-chief of the French forces. He immediately took advantage of the want of skill and vigour on the part of the English. He surprised and captured Forts Ontario and Oswego, and while Lord Loudon proceeded upon an abortive expedition against Louisburgh, marched against Fort William Henry, situated at the southern extremity of Lake George.

The fort, which was far from strong, was garrisoned by two thousand men under Colonel Monro; while Colonel Webb was stationed at Fort Edward, with a force of double that amount. While Webb remained thus inactive, Montcalm was concentrating his troops at Fort Ticonderoga, at the northern extremity of Lake George. He had succeeded in gaining over a large body of Indian allies, which with his regular troops formed a body of eight thousand men, well provided with artillery for the siege of Fort

William Henry. Descending the lake, he encamped on the shore in the immediate vicinity of the fort. Having reconnoitered the fort, Montcalm pushed his trenches close to the ramparts and opened a heavy cannonade upon the body of the fort; while the woods around swarmed with his sharp-shooters and Indians, who kept up a galling fire on the defenders as they manned the batteries. Unable to offer any protracted resistance, Monro sent repeated and pressing messages to Webb, who had already examined the place, and though pressed by the daring Rogers to allow him to attack the enemy with his Rangers, seemed to have made up his mind that it could not be successfully defended. The French commander issued a peremptory summons to surrender, but Monro declared he would defend his trust to the uttermost extremity. At length his artillery failed, and when Montcalm sent in an intercepted letter, in which Webb affirmed his inability to offer any succour, and desired him to make the best terms in his power, the brave commander reluctantly signed a capitulation, by which he was to march out with all the honours of war, and to be escorted to Fort Edward by a body of French soldiers.

The Indian allies of Montcalm, deprived of their promised plunder by the terms of this capitulation, could hardly be kept in restraint, a fact of which Montcalm had already informed the English commander. To the chivalrous officers, accustomed to the conduct of European warfare, the necessity of employing these savage allies must have been degrading, and the impossibility of restraining their atrocities without provoking their hostility has often exposed their reputation to unmerited obloquy. It proved so on this occasion. The British soldiers, still armed, and escorted by a small French force, with their wives and children marched with heavy hearts out of the works to take their way towards Fort Edward, and scarcely had the

head of the column entered the forest, and become entangled in a narrow pass, which still retains the name of the "Bloody Defile," than a body of two thousand savages, concealed in the surrounding thickets, raised the dreadful and thrilling war-whoop, and bursting upon them, commenced an indiscriminate massacre. Seized with sudden panic, the English fell almost without resistance, and the French escort was either unable or unwilling to offer them any effectual aid. It is said Montcalm with several of his officers rushed into the midst, and vainly endeavoured to stay the butchery; he bared his breast and called upon the savages to slay himself rather than his prisoners, and urged the latter to defend themselves; but all his efforts were in vain. The terrified fugitives were pursued into the forest, where many fell victims to the tomahawk or were carried away into slavery; the rest, after much difficulty, succeeded in reaching Fort Edward. The fort was then destroyed by the French.

This affair created the greatest consternation throughout the northern provinces. Twenty thousand militia were called out in Massachusetts in the apprehension of a further blow; but Montcalm, satisfied with the advantages he had gained and the terror he had occasioned, withdrew his forces into Canada for the winter.

As it is darkest just before the coming of the day, so the termination of the campaign of 1757 left matters in a more gloomy state than any of the preceding. The French retained Louisburg, had mastered Oswego, and commanded not only Lake Champlain, but Lake George, threatening even the settlements on the Hudson. The Six Nations had been obliged to enter into a treaty of neutrality. By the possession of Fort Duquesne, the French menaced the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, which were continually ravaged by their Indian allies.

The accession of the energetic Chatham to the premier-

ship of Great Britain, breathed new life into the nation; and in the colonies hopes were entertained that the French power would soon fall before his vigorous and wise measures. General Abercrombie was appointed to the chief command of the forces in America, and a plan for the campaign of 1758 adopted, which included expeditions against Louisburg, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Fort Duquesne.

General Abercrombie, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, collecting his troops at Albany, prepared for an expedition against Ticonderoga. On the 5th of July, fifteen thousand troops, with a formidable train of artillery, crossed Lake George, landed on the western shore, and commenced their march against the enemy. A fort within two miles of Ticonderoga fell into Abercrombie's hands, and on the 8th he attempted to storm that strong post. A severe action of four hours ensued, when the English commander, having lost nearly two thousand men, ordered a retreat.

An army of fifty thousand men, of whom twenty thousand were provincials, was collected. The expedition against Louisburg was completely successful. That strong fortress, which had been heretofore deemed impregnable, was this year compelled to surrender to the English forces. Colonel Bradstreet, with three thousand men, captured Fort Frontignac in Upper Canada. As this place was the magazine from which supplies were drawn for the French posts on the Ohio, its fall contributed to the successful result of the expedition against Fort Duquesne.

The command of the forces destined to act against Fort Duquesne, was intrusted to Brigadier-General Joseph Forbes. The whole number of troops under his orders was seven thousand. Of these 1200 were Highlanders, 350 Royal Americans, 2700 Provincials from Pennsylvania, 1600 from Virginia, 250 from Maryland, 150 from North

Carolina, 100 from Delaware, and 1000 wagoners and labourers. Among the provincials was a great number of experienced rangers—men accustomed from childhood to Indian warfare. In the present expedition, the services of such men were invaluable. Colonel Washington, who was in command of the Virginians, strongly recommended that the army should follow Braddock's route, as the expedition might be defeated by the delay of cutting a new road over the mountains. But Colonel Bouquet persuaded General Forbes to adopt a new route; and accordingly, on the 1st of August, 1758, seventeen hundred men were employed west of Bedford in constructing a road across the mountains to the Susquehanna.

Before the arrival of the commanding general, Colonel Bouquet sent out Major Grant, with thirty-seven officers and eight hundred and five privates, to reconnoitre Fort Duquesne and the adjacent country. Though the French had spies out to report the progress of their enemies, Major Grant succeeded in approaching within two miles of the fort unobserved. At that point he left his baggage under a guard of a captain and fifty-two men, and, under cover of night, marched to within a quarter of a mile of the fort. About eleven o'clock the detachment reached the brow of the hill, which now bears the name of Grant's Hill. Major Grant, judging from the fact of his having seen no enemy on his march, and the silence in the vicinity of the fort, that the garrison was very small, and wishing to keep the glory of the capture to himself, sent Major Lewis with two hundred and fifty men, to lie in ambush near the baggage, on pretence that the enemy might attempt its capture. Two officers and fifty men approached the fort and set fire to a store-house. The fire was extinguished, but the party met with no enemy.

At break of day, dispositions were made for the attack. Four hundred men were posted on the hill facing the fort,

to cover the retreat of Captain M'Donald's company, which marched with drums beating towards the enemy, to draw a party out of the fort. The French and Indians, aroused from their slumbers by the music, sallied out in great force to the attack. Separating into three divisions, two of them were despatched, under cover of the banks of the river, to surround the main body of the English; the third displayed itself before the fort, as if it included the whole strength of the garrison. The conflict then commenced. Captain M'Donald was immediately driven upon the main body, and Major Grant discovered that he was surrounded. A most destructive fire was poured in upon his troops, and they returned it. The battle became desperate. Major Lewis hastened to the relief of Major Grant, but soon found himself attacked on all sides. The troops gave way. Major Grant retreated to the baggage, and strove to rally his men. As soon as the enemy came up, Captain Bullit, with fifty Virginians, attacked them in a furious manner, and thus checked the pursuit. Most of his men being killed, however, he was forced to give way. Major Grant and Major Lewis were captured, but Captain Bullit, although one of the last to leave the battle-ground, escaped. This disastrous defeat occurred on the 21st of September. The loss of the English was two hundred and seventy men killed, forty-two wounded, and several prisoners. The loss of the French and Indians must have been considerable, but it is not known.

Encouraged by victory, the enemy resolved to attack Colonel Bouquet, who had command of 2500 troops, at Loyalhanna, before reinforcements could reach him. Accordingly, on the 12th of October, 1200 French, and 200 Indians, under the command of De Vetri, marched and assailed him. A well-fought battle of four hours' duration ensued, when the French were compelled to retreat, having suffered a severe

loss. Colonel Bouquet had sixty-seven men killed or wounded in the battle.

About the 1st of November, General Forbes arrived at Loyallhanna with the remainder of the army. A council of war was held, and after considerable discussion, it was resolved to prosecute the expedition in spite of the lateness of the season. Colonel Washington was then sent forward to take command of the division employed in opening the road. On the 12th of November, about three miles from camp, he encountered a party of the enemy, killed one man and took three prisoners. The fire of Colonel Washington's detachment being heard at camp, Colonel Mercer, with a number of Virginians, was sent to his aid. The two parties approaching in the dusk of the evening, mistook each other for enemies. Volleys were exchanged, by which a lieutenant and thirteen or fourteen men were killed.

On the 13th, Colonel Armstrong, with 1000 men, pushed forward to assist Washington in opening the road. General Forbes followed soon after, leaving strong garrisons at Bedford and Loyallhanna. The weather was exceedingly damp and chill, and the new road very difficult. When the army had arrived within twelve miles of the fort, some Indian scouts came and reported that the fort and houses connected with it had been burned and abandoned. The army pressed on, and arrived at its destination on the 25th of November. The general found the works nearly destroyed; but about thirty cabins were standing, and a well-stocked magazine was secured. The cannon were not found. Whether the French had taken them down the Ohio, or sunk them in the river, could not be ascertained. There were about five hundred Frenchmen in the fort at the time of the evacuation, under the command of M. de Lignery. They are charged with having allowed the Indians to burn and torture their English prisoners, but of this conclusive evidence

is wanting. The bodies of those who fell in the skirmish at Grant's Hill were found scalped and mutilated. The remains were buried. Soon afterwards the bones of those who fell in Braddock's defeat were collected and consigned to the earth.

The fall of Fort Duquesne was hailed throughout the middle provinces as the breaking up of the stronghold of an active foe. Immediately after the successful conclusion of the campaign, the Delawares sued for peace. Conferences were held at the site of old Fort Duquesne, which resulted in the conclusion of treaties of peace. General Forbes ordered the fort to be repaired, left a garrison of 200 provincial troops in it, and another garrison near the Loyalhanna, and marched the main army to the other side of the mountains. In the next year, Fort Pitt was erected at the site of Fort Duquesne.

The duties of Washington during the successful expedition of Forbes had been of the most arduous description. His command had opened the way for the main body, and made its advance much easier than it could have been without the labours which he superintended in person. His vigour and address were duly appreciated by his countrymen. When he returned to Winchester, he ascertained that he had been elected a member of the General Assembly of Virginia to represent the county of Frederick.

The frontier of Virginia being relieved from danger, Washington thought he might now retire from the service without dishonour, and attend to his private affairs. About the close of the year, he resigned his commission. The officers whom he had commanded were strongly attached to him, and before he retired they sent him an address, expressing their high estimate of his private and military character. The opinion of these officers was that entertained by almost every citizen of the provinces who could appreciate merit. At this time was laid the founda-

tion of that popularity which sustained Washington amid the trials and reverses of the Revolution.

Not long after he resigned his commission, Washington married Mrs. Martha Custis, a young widow, who to a large fortune added beauty, intelligence, and amiability. Throughout the rest of his toilsome but glorious life, this lady was his devoted partner and beloved solace—an ornament to every sphere in which duty led him to move.

Washington began his career as a legislator in 1759, when he took his seat in the Virginia legislature. There, he soon gained a high reputation for industry, intelligence, and ability. He seldom spoke, and when he did, his speeches never occupied beyond fifteen minutes. But his opinions were always treated with respect, because they were formed after long and careful thought. In the intervals of his legislative service, Washington resided at the beautiful Mount Vernon, enjoying the sweets of private life, and managing his large estate. He also served for a while as magistrate of the county in which his residence was situated. This kind of life occupied Washington for about sixteen years, when the colonial disturbances, preceding the great Revolution, called upon him for more arduous and serious labours than any he had yet performed.

When the British ministry asserted the right of Parliament to tax the colonies without allowing them a representation, Washington took a decided stand with those gallant spirits who were determined to resist such tyranny. He was elected to a seat in the first Continental Congress, and was among the most earnest and laborious of its members. Being recognised as the chief military man in that body, he was placed on all committees in which measures of defence were to be matured. When the actions of the British rulers and their instruments drove the patriots to arms—when the soil of New England was stained with the blood of her sons at Lexington, and when Congress resolved to

organize a regular army, all eyes were turned to Washington, as a fit man for the post of commander-in-chief.

On the 14th of June, 1775, John Adams nominated him for that high office, and the nomination was unanimously confirmed. On the succeeding day, when this appointment was communicated to Washington, he modestly expressed his deep sense of the honour conferred, and a doubt of his ability to discharge the duties of such a post, but announced his determination to exert every power he possessed in the service of his country. He also stated that he would accept no compensation beyond a reimbursement of expenses.

Difficult, indeed, was the task Washington had undertaken to perform. He found the British army under General Gage, besieged in Boston by 14,500 New England volunteers, under General Ward. Numerically superior to the enemy, the Americans were without a sufficiency of arms or ammunition, and almost destitute of discipline. On the 17th of June, before Washington arrived at the scene of active operations, was fought the bloody battle of Breed's Hill. The Americans, numbering fifteen hundred men, under the command of Colonel Prescott, long maintained their rude fortification against the assaults of three thousand British regulars, commanded by General Howe; and only retreated when their ammunition failed. One thousand and fifty-four of the British were killed or wounded, while the Americans lost but about 480 men; among these, however, was the brave and able General Joseph Warren, a master spirit among the patriots. This battle was considered won by the Americans; and so it was, regarding the results. It showed Washington that the men he had been sent to command, had the first virtue of good soldiers—determined courage.

The commander-in-chief, while maintaining a close siege of Boston, laboured incessantly to organize and discipline

BATTLE OF BREED'S HILL.



his army. Reinforcements arrived from Pennsylvania and Maryland. But supplies of arms and ammunition came slowly. Major-Generals Gates and Lee, with the veteran officers of the last French war, aided Washington in introducing discipline among the troops, and in obtaining supplies. Of the newly appointed brigadier-generals, Nathaniel Greene was the ablest, and he soon won the confidence of the commander-in-chief.

The Americans, who had been made prisoners at Bunker's Hill, were indiscriminately thrown into gaol at Boston, and treated with little humanity. On the 11th of August General Washington addressed a letter to General Gage on the subject, and informed him that his treatment of British prisoners should be regulated by that which the Americans experienced. General Gage replied that the prisoners had been treated with care and kindness, but indiscriminately, because he acknowledged no rank that was not derived from the king; and at the same time retorted on the Americans the charge of cruelty. General Washington replied, "I have taken time, sir, to make a strict inquiry, and find the intelligence you have received has not the least foundation in truth. Not only your officers and soldiers have been treated with the tenderness due to fellow citizens and brethren; but even those execrable paricides, whose counsel and aid have deluged this country with blood, have been protected from the fury of a justly enraged people. You affect, sir, to despise all rank not derived from the same source with your own; I cannot conceive one more honourable than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power."

This epistolary correspondence did not suspend military operations: some skirmishing took place between the advanced parties of the two armies; and the Americans fortified themselves on an eminence within half a mile of

the British post on Bunker's Hill. There was a good deal of firing on the occasion, without much loss to either side ; but it, in some measure, accustomed the colonists to the use of arms, the noise of the artillery, and the operations of war.

The American army was extremely deficient in gunpowder ; but, in the beginning of September, it received a supply of 7000 pounds from Rhode Island, procured, it is said, from the British forts on the coast of Africa, in exchange for New England rum. Saltpetre was collected in all the colonies ; powder-mills were erected at Philadelphia and New York ; and upwards of 100 barrels of powder were abstracted by American agents from the magazine at Bermuda.

General Washington soon began to feel the difficulties of his situation. He perceived that the expense of maintaining the army far exceeded any estimate of Congress, and was very uneasy on the subject. The time for which the continental soldiers (so the troops enlisted for the American army were named) were engaged to serve, was drawing to a close, and the danger of very short enlistments was felt. A council of war, therefore, unanimously agreed that the men about to be levied should be engaged till the 1st of December, 1776. This was a very inadequate remedy for the evil, which was severely felt in the course of the war ; but some hopes of a reconciliation between Britain and the colonies were still entertained.

On the 10th of October General Gage sailed for Britain, and the command of the British army devolved on General (afterwards Viscount) Howe, who issued a proclamation, condemning to military execution such of the inhabitants of Boston as should be caught attempting to leave the town without a written permission.

The troops in Boston were reduced to a very uncomfortable condition : they could not procure provisions and

other necessities from the country, and their maritime supplies were much interrupted; for, on the 9th of October, the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay resolved to fit out armed vessels for the defence of the American coast; and afterwards appointed courts of admiralty, to condemn such captured vessels as should be proved to belong to persons hostile to the united American colonies. Privateers were soon at sea; and in a few days took an ordnance ship from Woolwich, and several store-ships, with valuable cargoes, which afforded a seasonable supply to the American camp, while the loss was severely felt by the British army in Boston. Congress also soon resolved to fit out and commission ships of war.

But although the British army in Boston was in very disagreeable circumstances, and success attended the naval operations of the Americans, yet the affairs of the provinces wore no flattering aspect. The term for which many of the men had enlisted was about to expire, and they showed no inclination to renew their engagements unless they received a high remuneration for their services. Irritation of spirit had made them fly to arms; and, in the fervour of their zeal, they would at first have readily engaged to serve during the war: but the opportunity was lost, and Congress severely felt the error in the course of the struggle; for the patriotism of the people was ephemeral, and their zeal for freedom was soon absorbed in considerations of interest. At the same time the colonial treasury was but ill-replenished, and the provincial paper-money soon became depreciated. In these circumstances Congress, wishing by a bold movement to put an end to the war, or at least by the splendour of a successful operation to reanimate the zeal of the people, was desirous that an attack should be made on Boston; but a council of war deemed the measure inexpedient.

The hostile armies remained quiet during the severest part

of the winter. But early in the morning of the 14th of February, 1776, General Howe sent a detachment over the ice to Dorchester Neck, and burned a few houses. This expedition merely served to make the Americans more sensible of the importance of establishing themselves on Dorchester Heights. General Washington was inclined to make an attack on Boston: to that, however, a council of war did not agree; but proposed to take possession of Dorchester Heights, which are on the south of Boston, as Bunker's Hill is on the north, and so render the British post in Boston untenable. The measure was resolved on, and preparations made for carrying it into execution. Accordingly, on the evening of the 4th of March, a strong detachment silently crossed Dorchester Neck, arrived at their places of destination, and laboured incessantly in raising fortifications. In order to conceal this movement, the Americans had, for some days before, kept up a heavy fire on Boston, with little effect; and it had been as ineffectually returned by the British.

The noise of artillery prevented the pickaxes and other implements of the Americans from being heard, although the ground was hard frozen, and could not easily be penetrated. So incessantly did they labour, that during the night, they raised two forts, with other defences, which in the morning presented to the British a very formidable appearance. On viewing these works, General Howe remarked, that the rebels had done more in one night than his whole army would have done in a month. He determined to dislodge them, and made the necessary preparations for attacking them the next day. But in the night a violent storm arose, which drove some of his vessels ashore on Governor's Island; and in the morning it rained so heavily that the attack could not be made.

General Howe called a council of war, which was of opinion that the town of Boston ought to be evacuated as

soon as possible; since the Americans had got time to strengthen their works, so as to render an attack on them very hazardous. For their own defence, the provincials had provided a number of barrels filled with stones and sand, ready to be rolled down on the assailants as they ascended the hill; a device which would have broken the line of the most steady and intrepid troops, and thrown them into confusion. That the heights of Dorchester had been so long neglected may appear surprising; but, during winter the American army was both weak and ill provided, and General Howe had no troops to spare.

In Boston, all was bustle and confusion; the troops and the friends of the British government preparing to quit the town. General Howe was desirous of removing all his stores of every kind; and his adherents wished to carry off all their effects. In the view of abandoning the town, the soldiery were guilty of the most shameful excesses, plundering the shops and houses, and destroying what they could not take away. About four o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 17th of March, the troops, about 7000 in number, and some hundreds of loyal inhabitants, began to embark; and they were all on board and under sail before ten. The evacuation of the place was so sudden that an adequate number of transports had not been prepared, and much confusion and inconvenience were experienced on board. The fleet, however, remained several days in Nantucket roads, and burnt the block-house in Castle Island, and demolished the fortifications. A considerable quantity of stores was left behind in Boston.

General Washington was soon informed of the evacuation of Boston, and took prompt measures for preserving the peace of the town. He soon entered it, amidst the triumphant gratulations of the citizens, whose joy on their deliverance, from what they considered the degrading oppression of a British army, was enthusiastic. At first it was not

known to what quarter General Howe would direct his course; but, apprehensive of an immediate attack on New York, General Washington, on the day after the evacuation, despatched five regiments under General Heath, towards that city, and soon followed with the main body of his army.

In a few days it was ascertained that General Howe, instead of sailing to the southward, had steered for Halifax. But he left some cruisers to watch the entrance into Boston, and to give notice of the evacuation to such British vessels as were destined for that port. Notwithstanding that precaution, however, several ships and transports, ignorant of what had happened, sailed into the harbour, and became prizes to the Americans, who, by their naval captures, procured a most seasonable supply of arms and ammunition. In this way, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with nearly 300 Highlanders, after a brave resistance was taken by some American privateers.

General Howe remained a considerable time at Halifax, to refresh his troops, exhausted by the fatigues and privations of the blockade; and General Washington marched to New York.

In the mean time, small armies had been sent into Canada, under the command of General Montgomery and Colonel Arnold. These were very unfortunate. After surmounting incredible difficulties in their march, and enduring the severities of winter while badly provided, they appeared before Quebec. The inhabitants supported the able Governor Carleton, in his measures of defence. The Americans were repulsed, General Montgomery killed, and many of his troops made prisoners. Colonel Arnold then retreated with the remnant of the forces beyond the reach of the enemy. Other misfortunes were experienced by the Americans in the north. The army was almost destroyed

by the small pox and privations. Arnold was defeated, after most gallant exertions, upon Lake Champlain.

In the south the patriots had a powerful body of tories to contend against, and both sides displayed bitter hostility. But Patrick Henry, in Virginia, and Rutledge and Moultrie in the Carolinas, maintained the good cause with eloquent voices and vigorous actions. Before the main army under Washington resumed active operations in the vicinity of New York, a conflict occurred at Charleston, South Carolina, the result of which greatly raised the hopes of the patriots. As early as April, 1776, information had been received at Charleston that an attack was contemplated, and President Rutledge prepared to meet it. General Charles took command of the army, assembled at that point, consisting of five thousand men. A fort on Sullivan's Island, guarding the harbour, was commanded by Colonel William Moultrie. In the beginning of June, a British fleet under Sir Peter Parker, having on board a large army under General Clinton, appeared off the harbour, and on the morning of the 28th, the attack commenced. Troops were landed at Long Island, and a furious cannonade was opened upon the fort. But while the fire of the British made no impression on the palmetto wood of which the fort was constructed, Moultrie's guns did a great deal of execution. Two frigates were reduced to wrecks, and one was grounded and burnt. The attack closed at nightfall, and it was not renewed next day. A few days afterwards, the troops were re-embarked, and the fleet sailed for New York. Colonel Moultrie received high praise for his gallant defence of the fort, which received his name. The moral effect of this repulse of the enemy was incalculable throughout the country.

The first object of the war had been a redress of grievances. But some of the leading patriots had contemplated raising the standard of independence, believing

that step to be necessary to the liberties of the country. Advocates of independence appeared in Congress. The subject was agitated in all circles. The "Common Sense" pamphlet of Thomas Paine had a vast influence in favour of the decisive measure. At length, the several colonies were directed to organize republican governments, and they complied. Some of the provincial Assemblies passed resolutions in favour of independence. On the 7th of June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee moved a resolution to that effect, and the question was debated for several days, being then postponed till the 1st of July. In the mean time, a committee was appointed to draw up a "Declaration of Independence." On the 1st of July, the debate was resumed, and the same day, the question was decided in the affirmative. On the 4th of July the great document was signed, and published to the world. Washington was now commander-in-chief in the service of the United States of America.

New York was now the centre of Washington's operations. That city had always been the chief seat of Tory influence, and though Ex-governor Tryon had been obliged to fly, he still remained on board a vessel at Sandy Hook, and was in constant communication with the royalists. It was suspected, and not without reason, that the most dangerous plots were being hatched in secret, while the provisional congress seemed to remain either unconscious or paralyzed.

No sooner had Washington arrived at New York to assume the command of the forces, than his attention was directed to this alarming state of things; and through his earnest expostulation, a secret committee was appointed with power to apprehend suspected persons. This providential foresight led to the discovery of an insidious scheme, which, had it succeeded, might have given a totally different issue to the impending struggle. Tryon's agents were found

to be actively engaged in corrupting the American soldiers with British gold, the mercenary infection had even seized upon Washington's own guard, and a plan had been formed for seizing and carrying him aboard an English ship. One of the soldiers was found guilty by a court-martial, and executed; some of the guilty suspected were thrown into prison, among whom was the mayor himself. The head of the confederacy was broken; but there yet remained enough of the Tory leaven to occasion disquietude and justify a vigilant severity.

Meanwhile, everything had been done, consistent with the limited means at Washington's command, to protect New York against Howe's anticipated attack. Putnam had sunk obstructions in the North and East rivers; batteries had been established in the islands and passages; and two forts had been hastily erected, to command the comparatively narrow passage of the Hudson, a few miles above the city, and before it expands into the broad lake-like basin of the Tappan Sea. These were Fort Washington, at the northern end of New York Island, and Fort Lee, on the opposite shore of New Jersey. The troops already at New York, Congress had determined to reinforce by 13,800 militia from New England, New York, and New Jersey; while 10,000 more from Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were to form "a flying camp," to cover and protect the neighbouring state of New Jersey. With these imperfect defences, and this body of ill-organized, and, as he must have known them to be, inefficient levies, Washington anxiously but firmly awaited the approach of his more powerful adversary.

At length, on the 28th of June, the British ships appeared off New York, and a few days after, General Howe landed on Staten Island, where he was warmly welcomed by the Tories, and received the promise of co-operation from the loyalists of Long Island and New Jersey. A few

days after his arrival, and whilst an attack upon New York might be daily expected, Washington received the news of the passing of the Declaration of Independence, which raised the spirits of the army to the highest pitch. The regiments were paraded and the Declaration read, amidst the most enthusiastic plaudits. The picture of the king, which had hitherto stood like a tutelary genius in the Town Hall, was torn down and destroyed, and the royal effigy converted into revolutionary bullets.

The expected attack was, however, for some time deferred. The English ministry had despatched Admiral Lord Howe from England with large reinforcements, such as, together with the loyalist rising, upon which they seem ever to have counted, would prove, they imagined, amply sufficient to suppress the insurrection. He now arrived to his brother's assistance, furnished also with proposals for an accommodation, which were to be tried before resorting to further hostilities. A circular letter to the royal governors, stating the terms proposed for a reconciliation, together with a general offer of pardon, were sent on shore under a flag of truce, and were forwarded by Washington to Congress. It is possible that, had Howe's arrival been somewhat earlier, these proposals might have in some degree protracted the hesitations in that body, and have sown division in the public mind; but could have hardly produced any decided effect, inasmuch as they left the matters in dispute mainly untouched, and offered no security but the royal clemency. As it was, the Rubicon had been passed—the Declaration of Independence put forth, and the only effect of the proclamation was to unite the people more closely together. Indeed, so far from dreading its effects, Congress caused it to be published in the newspapers, in order "that the few whom hopes of moderation and justice had still kept in suspense, might now be convinced" that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties.

Although provided with an army and fleet sufficient, as it might well seem, to put down resistance by force, both General Howe and his brother were sincerely anxious to effect, if possible, a peaceable solution of the quarrel. Having, to their great regret, failed in their appeal to the American public, the Howes next endeavoured to open a personal communication with Washington. For this purpose, a boat was sent with a letter addressed "George Washington, Esq.," under which superscription it was however returned. They next despatched Colonel Patterson, adjutant-general of the British army, who was introduced into the presence of the American commander, and presented another letter similarly addressed. But this also Washington declined to receive, upon the ground, that, as his public capacity was well known, the letter ought to be suitably directed, or that it would appear to be a merely private communication. A conference on the subject of the disputes then took place between the colonel and Washington, but though conducted with perfect courtesy on both sides, it terminated in nothing satisfactory. "I find," said Washington, "you are only empowered to grant pardons; we have committed no offence, we need no pardon." Soon after, Colonel Palfrey, paymaster-general of the American army, repaired on board Lord Howe's ship to negotiate a change of prisoners. His Lordship took this occasion to lament that the fear of displeasing the king had prevented his public recognition of the rank of General Washington, for whom he professed the highest respect. With these courteous overtures terminated for the present all prospect of a reconciliation.

Two months had elapsed since the English general landed on Staten Island, and he had now been joined by all his reinforcements, swelling his army to 24,000 men, well trained, well provided, and led by able and experienced officers. Meanwhile Washington's forces had increased, by the arrival of militia, to about the same number, but

vastly different in organization and equipment. A heterogeneous medley, hurriedly gathered together from the different states, they brought along with them their sectional jealousies and disgusts—the wealthy gentlemen of the middle and southern states revolting at associating, on a footing of equality, with the officers of the northern and eastern militia, who, though inferior to none in genuine chivalry, were often of a low rank in society, and in manner and bearing hardly raised above the level of their fellow comrades from the plough. Overbearing contempt on one hand, and wounded pride on the other, bred quarrels and disorders which threatened the most serious results, and called for vigorous but kindly remonstrance on the part of Washington. We are reminded here, as at every step, of the immense moral influence which he had already acquired over the minds of his countrymen—an influence alone able to conciliate and to control the ever-recurring discords and discouragements which beset the infancy of the republic. “The General most earnestly entreats the officers and soldiers to consider, that they can no way assist our enemies more effectually, than by making divisions among themselves; that the honour and success of our army, and the safety of our bleeding country depend upon harmony and good agreement with each other; that the provinces are all united to oppose the common enemy, and all distinctions sunk in the name of an American. To make this name honourable, and to preserve the liberty of our country, ought to be our only emulation, and he will be the best soldier and the best patriot who contributes most to this glorious work, whatever his station, and from whatever part of the continent he may come.” This spirited appeal had for the present the effect of putting a stop to dissensions, which could only be effectually repressed by a more efficient organization of the army.

In the expectation that Howe would direct his attack by

way of Long Island, a body of nine thousand men had been encamped at Brooklyn, protected by a line of works executed under the superintendence of General Greene, extending from Wallabout Bay on the East river to Gowan's Cove on New York Bay. In advance was a range of wooded heights, crossed directly by two roads, while a third turned their eastern extremity near the shore of the bay, and a fourth, by falling into the Jamaica road, the western. The central passes, leading over the hills, were guarded and fortified, and orders had been given carefully to watch over them all. But General Greene, to whom the command was intrusted, and who perfectly understood the ground, happened to fall ill, and the command devolved on Putnam, who was not so well acquainted with it; and by some neglect or want of foresight, the Jamaica road was left without adequate protection, neither was a proper system of communication kept up between the different posts.

Such was the position of the Americans when the British troops landed on Long Island, extending their line along the southern side of the heights which intervened between them and the American camp. Opposite the middle of the heights was De Heister with the centre composed of Hessians, the left wing under General Grant prepared to attack by the lower road, while General Clinton, supported by Earl Percy and General Cornwallis, advanced at the head of the right wing towards the unprotected Jamaica road, with the purpose of turning the American left, placing them between two fires, and cutting off their retreat to the camp.

This combination, as sagaciously planned as it was vigorously executed, proved, notwithstanding the most resolute bravery on the part of the Americans at particular points, entirely successful.

About nine o'clock at night Clinton's division advanced steadily and swiftly towards the Jamaica road, and after

capturing a patrol, a little before day-break had attained this spot, the key of the position, without obstacle. Grant meanwhile advanced at midnight along the lower road, and thus came into contact with the American troops under Lord Sterling, while at day-break De Heister assaulted the American centre posted upon the crest of the hills. One of the ships meanwhile kept thundering on the American right. The object of the English was to draw the attention of their enemy from what was passing on their left, but no sooner were they aware that Clinton stood prepared to act on the offensive, than they advanced to the attack with vigour, and, after a strenuous resistance, succeeded in forcing the passages, and gradually driving in their opponents.

Meanwhile Clinton, unopposed on the Jamaica road, marched rapidly through Bedford, and threw himself upon the left flank of the Americans, who, finding themselves in a way to be cut off, endeavoured to retreat to the camp, but were intercepted and driven back upon the Hessians, or forced to fly into the woods. Cornwallis at the same time pushed round to cut off Lord Sterling, who was taken prisoner, his corps with great difficulty effecting their retreat. Sullivan, hemmed in as he was by De Heister on one side and Clinton on the other, was obliged to surrender. The defeat of the Americans was complete at all points, and upwards of a thousand prisoners remained in the hands of the enemy. Such as escaped fell back within the lines at Brooklyn, closely pursued by the victorious English.

Inexperienced as were the Americans in the science of war, having so extensive and broken a line to defend, without cavalry, and attacked by a vastly superior and highly disciplined force, the issue of the combat might have been foreseen, and Washington, it is evident, almost anticipated it.

During the action he had crossed over to the camp at

Brooklyn, now crowded with disheartened fugitives, and menaced with an immediate attack by the English, flushed with victory and eager to be led on to the assault. The moment was fearfully critical. Had the counsels of the English officers been as vigorous as the temper of their troops was excited, the lines would have been at once stormed and probably carried. But whether General Howe dreaded the result of thus attacking a desperate foe, or supposed that with the co-operation of the ships the enemy could not escape him, he preferred to make regular approaches, and began immediately to open trenches. The rain poured incessantly for two days, and the Americans were exposed to it unsheltered. Had the English ships advanced up the East river, and stationed themselves between Brooklyn and New York, nothing could have saved the camp; but a strong north-east wind had hitherto prevented them from doing so. Every moment was precious, when a sudden shift of wind would cut off the possibility of flight. It was known besides, that Clinton was threatening to send part of his army across the sound, thus menacing New York. Washington called a council of war, at which it was resolved to retreat instantly. The hour of eight in the evening of the 29th of August was fixed upon for the embarkation. Everything had been prepared, and the troops were ready to march down, but the force of the wind and ebb tide delayed them for some hours, and seemed as if it would entirely frustrate the enterprise. The enemy, toiling hard at the approaches, were now so near, that the blows of their pickaxes and instruments could be distinctly heard, while the noise of these operations deadened all sound of the American movements, which were carried on in the deepest silence. About two in the morning, a thick fog settling over Long Island prevented all sight of what was going on, and the wind shifting round to the south-west, the soldiers entered the boats,

and were rapidly transferred to the opposite shore. So complete were the arrangements that almost all the artillery, with the provisions, horses, wagons, and ammunition safely crossed over to New York. Washington, who, from the commencement of the action till he had seen the troops placed out of danger, had never closed his eyes, and been rarely out of the saddle, was himself the last to quit the shore.

Scarcely had the fog cleared off, when the British saw with amazement the last American boat, which had returned to fetch off some munitions, fast nearing the opposite bank of the East river. Washington had saved his army. Several thousand men were still assembled in New York Island, but their leader was but too sensible how little reliance could be placed upon them.

He now made earnest appeals to Congress to adopt more vigorous measures, offering greater inducements for enlistment and prolonging the term of service. But the appeals were vain ; Congress had not the power to aid him ; and he was compelled to witness the gradual melting away of his army.

Taking advantage of the discouragement among the troops, the Howes now sent a prisoner, General John Sullivan, to Congress, to make overtures of accommodation. After a short debate, that gallant body determined to maintain the stand it had taken, to the last extremity. The Howes then appealed by proclamation to the people ; but the proclamation did not make many converts to the royal cause.

By his recent triumph Howe had acquired the possession of Long Island, and was preparing to pass over the East river and menace New York ; but where the blow would fall, what were the numbers, plans, and dispositions of the English army, Washington knew not with any certainty. To prevent surprise, he had removed the main body of

his army to the heights of Harlem north of the city, overlooking the Harlem river, sending across a portion of the stores and baggage, and establishing his head-quarters at Morrisiana, whence he could better watch the movements of the English on the opposite side of the strait. A considerable force still remained in the city under the command of Putnam, ready either to act in its defence or retreat, as the case might require.

Howe's designs soon became apparent enough, and they were crowned with entire success. He declined bombarding the city, which contained a great number of adherents, and would be desirable as quarters for his army. Instead of this, sending several ships up the North and East rivers, the fire from which swept entirely across the island, he began under cover of it, to land his troops at Kip's Bay, about midway between New York and Harlem. Works had been thrown up on the spot, sufficient at least to maintain a resistance till further succour could arrive; but no sooner did the English set foot on shore, than the troops posted in them were seized with a panic, broke and fled, communicating their terror to two New England brigades, who on the first alarm of a landing had been despatched to their support. It was at this moment that Washington, hurrying to the scene of action, fell in with the entire party retreating in disorder without firing a single shot. The sight was too much for his excited feelings, and for once his equanimity gave way before a sense of the almost hopelessness of his task. He galloped to and fro among the fugitives, entreating them to face the enemy, he struck them with the flat of his sword, snapped his pistols at them, and utterly unable to stay the rout, dashed his hat on the ground, exclaiming, "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America!" Abandoned by all, and rooted to the spot, he seemed not merely incapable of saving himself by flight, but even as though he invoked

destruction; and had it not been for his officers, who seized his bridle and forcibly dragged him off the field, he would, in all probability, have been shot or taken prisoner.

As the fugitive troops retired, they encountered a reinforcement hastening to their support, and, ashamed of their former panic, faced about and desired to be led against the enemy. But unable as he was to place any firm reliance upon them, Washington judged it more prudent to fall back upon Harlem Heights.

By this time the British officers had landed all their forces, and had they pushed vigorously forward would, by placing themselves across the island midway between Washington at Harlem and Putnam in New York, have effectually cut off the latter, and compelled him to surrender. Orders had been despatched to him instantly to evacuate the city, and in the midst of hurry and confusion he took the lower road by Greenwich, leaving behind him his heavy artillery and a large quantity of stores and provisions. The delay of the British, generally attributed to the general's stopping for refreshment, alone prevented his being cut off with his entire division, and as it was, three hundred of his men fell into the hands of the enemy.

No sooner had he departed than a detachment of the royal troops entered the city, where they were warmly received by the Tories. The bitterest feeling existed between the two hostile parties, and it was fearfully exemplified by means of an accident that occurred a few nights after the occupation. This was a fire, which broke out in the dead of night, and, owing to the drought of the season and a strong south wind, increased with alarming rapidity. Upwards of a thousand buildings were consumed, and but for the exertions of the soldiers and sailors the whole city would probably have been destroyed. In the excited state of party feeling, it was said that the "Sons of Liberty" were the incendiaries, with a view to drive out the army,

and several suspected persons were hurled into the blazing buildings by the soldiers. General Howe, in the mean while, had taken up a position with the main body of his troops in front of Washington's intrenchments at Harlem, extending across the island from the East to the North river, supported at each extremity by his ships. Within their intrenchments the "morale" of the American troops revived, they reflected with shame on the events of the day, and determined to retrieve their character on the first opportunity. Volunteers came forward next morning, and under the command of Colonel Knowlton went out to reconnoitre the enemy. A party of the British came forward to meet them, and a spirited skirmish ensued, in which the very same men who the day before had fled so disgracefully, behaved with such spirit as decidedly to have the best of the encounter, though at the loss of their gallant commander, who had led them into action. This incident revived the drooping confidence of the troops, and was no less encouraging to Washington himself, after his recent and bitter mortification. He occupied himself diligently with strengthening his lines, which Howe considered too formidable to be attacked with prudence, until he had obtained reinforcements.

While the two armies thus remained inactive in face of each other, Washington was earnestly engaged in correspondence with Congress. The state of his army, though somewhat raised from despondency by the recent success, was deplorable. Hospitals were wanting to receive the numerous sick, who were exposed almost unsheltered to the inclemency of the weather. Desertions were constantly taking place, and the very next reverse might occasion the entire dissolution of the army.

Reluctant as Congress had been to establish a standing army, they had now drawn the sword and cast away the scabbard, and the recent losses seconded so powerfully the

expostulations of Washington, that a scheme was drawn up in harmony with his suggestions, with which a committee of delegates repaired to the camp at Harlem, in order to confer with him on the subject. The new army was to consist of eighty-eight battalions, to be provided for by the respective states in due proportion, and the soldiers, who received a bounty for enlistment, were required to serve for *the whole war*,—the system of limited enlistments having been found the great obstacle to discipline. Great difficulties however were still to be surmounted. The selection of officers for their respective quotas was at first to be left to the states themselves, instead of confided to the commander-in-chief; but a midway course was afterwards agreed upon, by which the states were to send commissioners to arrange the appointments with him.

While engaged in deep and anxious conference with the delegates of Congress, Washington had also to keep a watchful eye on the movements of his skilful adversary. The two armies had now maintained the same position for three weeks, when Howe, finding the lines at Harlem too strong to be attacked with any chance of success, determined upon a change of tactics. He first sent some ships of war up the Hudson, which, in spite of the American batteries, succeeded in forcing a passage, thus intercepting the communication, and preventing supplies from reaching Washington by the river. Leaving behind him a force to cover New York, he transferred the rest of his army to Pell's Point on Long Island Sound, and took up a position on the neighbouring heights of New Rochelle. Hence, having received a strong reinforcement of Hessians and Waldeckers under General Knyphausen, he threatened a movement in the rear of Washington, so as to cut him off from all communication either by land or water, or compel him to a general action. A council of war was now called, when, to traverse this design, it was resolved to evacuate

the island and advance into the interior. The question arose, whether a garrison should be left behind in Fort Washington, a measure which seemed of little use, inasmuch as the British had obtained the command of the river. Washington and Lee were opposed to this plan, but it was strenuously urged by Greene, who considered the fort to be sufficiently strong to resist an attack from the enemy. It was supposed too that the besieged would always be able to escape, if needful, by crossing the river; and a garrison of two thousand men was accordingly left on it, under the command of Colonel Magaw.

The fort stands on bold ground, overlooking the Hudson, and the approach to it on the land side is difficult, and obstructed with wood. Next morning, the enemy unexpectedly attacked it in four columns, at as many different points. Notwithstanding the most strenuous resistance on the part of the Americans, who, firing from behind the rocks and trees, which impeded the ascent, cut off four hundred of their assailants, such was the vigour of the attack, and the emulation between the Germans and English, that the outworks were successively carried, and the skirmishers driven back in tumultuous confusion within the body of the place.

During the approach of the enemy, Washington, with Putnam, Greene, and other officers, had crossed the river, and were ascending to the fort, when seeing that they were running the risk of capture for an insufficient object, they returned. It is said, that from the post whence he intently watched the onset, Washington could see his soldiers bayoneted, while imploring mercy on their knees, and was unable to restrain his tears.

The assailants having forced their way within a hundred yards of the fort, Colonel Magaw was again summoned to surrender. With a confused and disheartened crowd of fugitives, who could not be brought to man the lines,

he had no alternative but to comply; and thus two thousand men, with a considerable quantity of artillery, fell into the hands of the victorious English—another limb lopped off the feeble and disorganized American army!

Scarcely had Fort Washington fallen, when a body of six thousand men, under Lord Cornwallis, one of the most active and energetic of the British officers, crossed the Hudson to Fort Lee, to pursue the American army. The fort was hurriedly abandoned, with a heavy loss of provisions and stores, and the garrison joined the main body, which rapidly retreated before the English. Such was the profound discouragement occasioned by the then recent successes, that Washington found his army rapidly falling to pieces, and in danger of utter and speedy dissolution. During the march, the term of enlistment of the corps forming the "Flying Camp," for the protection of New Jersey, expired, and no persuasion could induce them to enlist. Destitute of every necessary, broken by repeated defeats, and so closely pursued by a victorious enemy, a feeling of despair succeeded to the overstrained enthusiasm which had at first animated them, and the only wonder is that even the shadow of an army should have remained on foot.*

Washington retreated across the Passaic and the Raritan, closely followed by Lord Cornwallis. The destruction of the bridge over the Raritan delayed the enemy some hours, and saved the baggage of the Americans. Cornwallis had been ordered not to advance beyond Brunswick, otherwise it is probable he would have overtaken Washington, and destroyed the little army of patriots. At length, with about 1500 men, the American general succeeded in placing the Delaware between him and his pursuers. Howe might still have passed the river, but he did not attempt it, contenting himself with the conquest of New Jersey, and the issuing

* Bartlett.

of proclamations, of whose offers many timid friends of freedom took advantage.

The capture of General Charles Lee, by a British detachment, added to the campaign's succession of disasters. That distinguished officer neglected to obey the orders of Washington, and suffered himself to be surprised by the enemy. Not even their recent victories elated the British so much as this capture: for Lee had a higher reputation than any officer in the army of patriots.

It was a gloomy period for the friends of independence. The British believed the war was about terminating in their favour, and many Americans who had hoped most strongly at the commencement of the contest now despaired. At such a time, the real greatness of the commander-in-chief was gloriously displayed. He did not despair, and such was the influence of his noble example that Congress made extraordinary exertions to meet the crisis. The authority of a military dictator was conferred upon Washington. "Happy is it for this country," said Congress, in their letter to him on this occasion, "that the general of its forces can safely be intrusted with the most unlimited power, and neither personal security, liberty, or property be in the least degree endangered thereby!" Washington immediately made use of his extraordinary powers to recruit and organize his army.

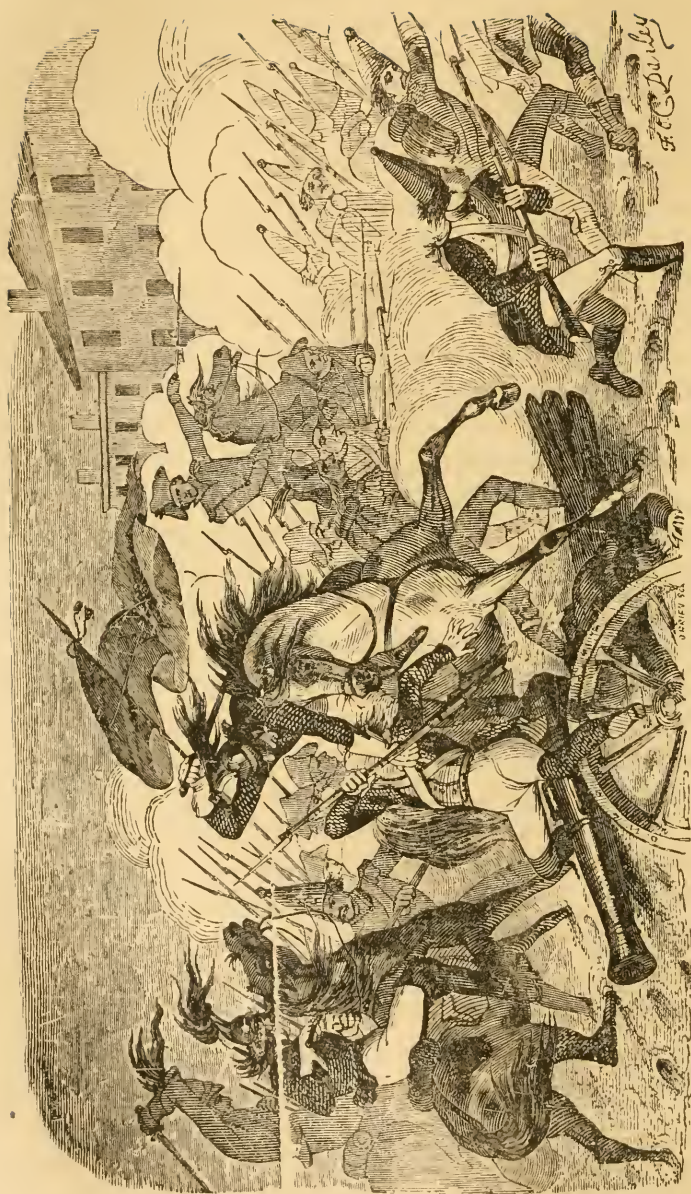
The winter having set in with much severity, Howe and Cornwallis returned to New York, and the British army was distributed in cantonments along the Delaware. Small detachments were stationed at Bordentown, Burlington, Black Horse, and Mount Holly, while three regiments of Hessians and a troop of light horse under the command of Colonel Rahl were posted at Trenton. Washington, eager for an opportunity to revive the spirits of his countrymen, resolved to take advantage of the dispersed condition of the enemy, and their relaxed discipline at the festivities of

Christmas, to strike an effective blow. Reinforcements had more than doubled the number of his troops, and he felt strong enough for active operations. Having matured his plans, he divided his forces into three corps, with the first of which, accompanied by Greene and Sullivan, he proposed to pass the Delaware at M'Konkey's ferry, nine miles above Trenton, and fall upon the Hessians in that town. The second division, under General Irwin, was to cross over at Trenton ferry, and by stopping the bridge over the Assumpink, cut off the enemy's retreat, while the third, under General Cadwallader, was to cross lower down from Bristol over to Burlington. Had the plan been executed at all points, it must have resulted in the capture of the whole line of British cantonments, but owing to invincible obstacles it turned out but partially successful.

The evening of Christmas day, for obvious reasons, was chosen as the most propitious for a surprise. It proved to be most bitter even for that inclement season, the cold so intense that two of the soldiers were frozen to death. The night was very obscure, it snowed and hailed incessantly, and the gloomy waters of the Delaware were half choked with masses of ice. But the worse the weather, it was so far better for the purpose, that the enemy would be lulled into deeper security. The soldiers were exhorted to redeem their previous failures, and reminded that the fate of their country depended upon their firmness and courage, and they marched down to the place of embarkation with a feeling of enthusiastic determination.

Washington had expected that the passage of his division might have been effected by midnight, but the dreadful weather, the encumbered state of the river, and the difficulty of getting across the artillery, occasioned so much delay, that it was four o'clock before the whole body were in marching order on the opposite shore. The darkness of a winter morning was still further deepened by a heavy





BATTLE OF TRENTON.

fog, and the road was rendered slippery by a frosty mist. As it would be daylight before they could reach Trenton, the main object of the enterprise seemed to be disconcerted; but there was now no alternative but to proceed. Washington took the upper road, while Sullivan commanded the lower; and about eight in the morning, both parties encountered the pickets of the enemy, who, keeping up a fire from behind the houses, fell back upon the town, and aroused their comrades. The Americans followed them up so closely, that they were able to open a battery at the end of the main street, before the drowsy Hessians could offer any effectual resistance.

It is said, that on the morning of the surprise, Colonel Rahl, who had been carousing all night after an entertainment, was still engaged at cards, when a warning note, forwarded by a Tory who had discovered the approach of the Americans, was handed to him by the negro porter, as being of particular importance. He thrust it into his pocket and continued the game, till aroused at length by the roll of the American drums, and the sound of musketry, he started to his legs, hurried to his quarters, mounted his horse, and in a few moments was at the head of his troops, vainly attempting to stem the progress of the Americans. In a few moments, he fell to the ground mortally wounded, and was carried away to his quarters. All order was now at an end; the Germans, panic-struck, gave way, and endeavoured to escape by the road to Princeton; but were intercepted by a party judiciously placed there for the purpose, and compelled to surrender at discretion, to the number of about 1000 men. Six cannon, a thousand stand of arms, and four colours, adorned the triumph of Washington. In this moment of brilliant success, purchased at the expense of others, he was not unmindful of the duties of humanity; but, accompanied by Greene, paid a visit to the dying Hessian leader, and soothed his passage to the grave by the

expression of that grateful and generous sympathy, which one brave man owes to another, even when engaged in opposite causes.

Had Irwin been able to cross at Trenton ferry, and occupy the Assumpink bridge, the English light-horse must also have been cut off; but such was the accumulation of the floating ice at this particular point, that he had found it impossible to perform his portion of the plan, and thus the division above mentioned hurried across the Assumpink, in the direction of Bordentown, and escaped. The same obstacle prevented Cadwallader from crossing over to Burlington; he succeeded indeed in landing a body of troops, but the state of the ice prevented the artillery from being got ashore; and unable to proceed without it, he was obliged to recross the Delaware.

As considerable bodies of the English were at a short distance, and his troops were exhausted with fatigue and cold, Washington thought it prudent immediately to recross the river with his prisoners. The effect produced upon the drooping spirits of the Americans by this daring and successful achievement, especially in Philadelphia, was indescribable. On the alarming news of Washington's retreat from the Hudson, and the near approach of the British, Congress had thought prudent to leave the city and retire to Baltimore. The citizens, expecting to be shortly attacked, were in a state of great excitement—the partisans of the royal cause eager to witness its triumph by the capture of the city, while the friends of Congress were proportionally alarmed. To overawe the former, and encourage the latter, the Hessians were paraded with military pomp through the streets of the city, the people scarcely believing their eyes, when they saw these dreaded foreigners defiling as captives before them—trophies of the valour of that army which some had hoped, and others feared, was irrecoverably disgraced and broken. Nor were the English

commanders less astonished and confounded, when they heard that the enemy whom they had fondly believed to be crushed, had turned and routed his pursuers. They discovered that they had to do with a commander no less daring than he was cautious, whose steady determination no defeat could shake; who, on one hand, was prepared to retreat, if needful, even to the fastnesses of the Alleghanies, and, on the other, ready to take advantage of the least oversight on their own part, to convert defeat into victory.

Soon after the glorious victory at Trenton, the American commander-in-chief succeeded in crossing to Jersey again, and in concentrating about 4000 troops at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis took command of the British forces in the state, and at once determined upon active operations. On the approach of the enemy, Washington retired behind Assumpink creek, where he threw up intrenchments. A whole day, attempts were made, but in vain, to pass the stream, and a cannonade was kept up against the intrenchments. The following day, Cornwallis intended to storm the works, and should he, as was but too probable, succeed, the American army, with the Delaware behind them, must inevitably be captured. To abide his attack would therefore be an act of foolish temerity, while to attempt to recross the river in presence of his army would be still more hazardous. A council of war was called, at which the bold design was adopted of getting into the rear of the English, falling upon their magazines at Brunswick, and carrying the war again from the neighbourhood of Philadelphia into the mountainous interior of New Jersey.

Not a moment was to be lost. The superfluous baggage was sent down the river to Burlington, the watch-fires were kept up, the patrols ordered to go their rounds, and, still further to deceive the enemy, parties sent out to labour at the intrenchments within hearing of their sentinels. About midnight the army silently defiled from the camp, and

marched off in a circuitous and difficult road towards Princeton.

It was a brilliant winter morning when they drew near that town, and General Mercer was sent forward by a by-road to seize a bridge at Worth's Mills, so as to cut off any fugitives, and also check any pursuit on the part of Cornwallis. Three British regiments, destined to reinforce the latter, had passed the night in Princeton, and two of them, the 17th, and 40th, under Colonel Mawhood, had already set out, when they suddenly came in sight of the approaching Americans, with whom they were almost immediately in action. The Americans, posted behind a fence, poured in a heavy and well directed volley, after receiving which, the British, with fixed bayonets, charged them with such impetuosity, that abandoning their shelter they broke and fled precipitately, closely pursued by their victorious enemies. Both fugitives and pursuers, however, were suddenly arrested by the sight of the troops under Washington, who, beholding the rout, hastened on, colours in hand, to rally the discomfited Americans. At no time in his life, perhaps, was he exposed to more imminent hazard. The Americans immediately rallied, the English re-formed their line, both levelled their guns and prepared to fire, while Washington, whose ardour had hurried him forward into a most perilous predicament, stood like a mark for the bullets of both. Fitzgerald, his aide-de-camp, dropped the reins upon his horse's neck, and shuddering, drew his hat over his face, that he might not see his leader die. A tremendous volley was heard, then a shout of triumph, and when the trembling officer ventured to look up, the form of Washington was dimly seen amidst the rolling smoke, urging forward his men to attack the enemy. Fitzgerald burst into tears, and putting spurs to his horse, dashed after his commander. The British, however, did not await the onset. Mawhood, already severely handled,

and seeing reinforcements about to come up, abandoned his artillery, wheeled off, and regaining the Trenton road, continued his march to join Cornwallis without any further molestation.

Washington now advanced to Princeton, encountering in his way the British 55th, which after a brave resistance, finding it impossible to follow the 17th, retreated in the direction of Brunswick, accompanied by the 40th, which had been but very partially engaged. On entering Princeton a part of this regiment was found to be in occupation of the college, who made some show of resistance, but on cannon being brought up, and the door of the building forced in, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners.

In this battle the Americans had to deplore the loss of the gallant General Mercer, an officer much beloved by the army and Washington, with whom he had served in the American and French wars.

The sound of the artillery at Princeton, and the sight of the empty intrenchments, made Cornwallis aware of the escape of Washington, and he immediately set off in pursuit. The Americans were in no condition for battle. By a rapid and masterly retreat, Washington escaped from his opponents and retired into winter-quarters, in a strong position near Morristown. In a short and brilliant campaign he had retrieved the American honour, revived the hopes of all patriotic citizens, and won a brilliant reputation as a commander. While in winter quarters, he strove against almost incredible obstacles to recruit and strengthen his army for a longer series of operations; and also took occasion to remonstrate with the British commander-in-chief concerning the treatment of American prisoners.

The campaign of 1777 opened with a series of predatory excursions on the part of the British. General Tryon destroyed a considerable quantity of shipping and stores be-

longing to Connecticut; but was defeated at Ridefield, by the militia under Wooster and Arnold. Wooster was killed in the action. Arnold narrowly escaped the same fate; his desperate bravery was rewarded by the thanks of Congress and the present of a horse. Nearly four hundred of British were killed, wounded, or captured during this expedition. The depredations of Tryon were retaliated by General Stevens and Colonel Meigs, who displayed a daring enterprise and inflicted much injury upon the enemy.

The spring was far advanced before Howe was in a position to open the campaign, and Washington, from his camp at Morristown, anxiously watched for the first movements of the enemy. It was known that General Burgoyne had assumed the command in Canada, but as yet his intentions were undeveloped. A quantity of vessels and pontoons, it was ascertained, was also provided at New York, apparently for an impending attack upon Philadelphia. In order to cover that city, Washington now moved down to a strong camp at Middlebrook, with an army increased to forty-three regiments, but so imperfectly filled up that the number of troops was only about eight thousand.

It was not till the middle of June that Howe marched out of New Brunswick, ostensibly to attack Philadelphia, but in reality, if possible, to draw Washington from his defences, and bring on a general engagement, which his opponent was equally anxious to avoid. With this view he artfully made a retrograde movement towards Amboy, which drew down Washington from the high ground as far as Quibbletown, when Howe, as suddenly turning round, endeavoured to cut him off from the hills; but his wary adversary made good his retreat to Middlebrook. Foiled in this object, Howe retired to Staten Island to meditate a fresh attack.

Information having reached the English general of Bur-

goyne's meditated expedition from Canada, of which we shall presently speak more fully, Sir Henry Clinton was left at New York, with four thousand men, in order to co-operate with him, while Howe embarked with the main body of his army, intending to attack Philadelphia in another direction. As Washington soon received authentic news that Burgoyne was advancing upon Ticonderoga, this movement of Howe's occasioned him the greatest perplexity. It was uncertain whether he meant to ascend the Hudson, and co-operate with Burgoyne, to sail up the Delaware, or even to attack Boston. Supposing it was the first, Washington advanced towards the Highlands; but when the ships had been, by his spies, reported steering to the southward, he directed his march towards Philadelphia. The fleet, however, instead of ascending the Delaware, had been seen sailing to the eastward, a movement which required fresh attention; finally, it was again descried to the southward, until it was the general impression that it was gone down to Charleston. During these movements and counter-movements, Washington had repaired to Philadelphia, where he had an interview with Congress, and had marched down his army to Germantown, in order to be ready for any casualty. It was not until the 22d of August, that certain information came in that the British ships had entered the Chesapeake, and landed the troops at the head of Elk river, whence, as soon as his stores and baggage were landed, Howe directed his march upon Philadelphia.

Though his troops were inferior in numbers and discipline to the enemy, Washington determined to risk a battle in defence of Philadelphia. The people expected him to pursue this course. Accordingly, the American army was drawn up on the heights above the Brandywine creek. Chad's Ford, the principal passage of this stream, was guarded by General Wayne. The British general formed his plan of attack with great skill and sagacity. When within seven miles of

the Americans he divided his army into two columns, sending one under General Knyphausen, by the direct road to Chad's Ford, while Cornwallis led the other by a wide circuit to cross the creek far above the ford, and turn the right wing of the American army. Washington has been censured for not taking advantage of this division of the enemy. He designed to attack them separately, but was perplexed, until it was too late, by contradictory reports.

At last, about two o'clock, arrived undoubted news, that Cornwallis had really crossed at the Forks, and was hastily coming down upon the American right flank. Sullivan was now immediately detached to meet him, while Greene's division, accompanied by Washington, took up a central position between Chad's Ford, defended by Maxwell, and the advancing columns of Sullivan.

No sooner had Cornwallis come up with this latter division, which, from the hurry occasioned by confused and conflicting accounts, had got but imperfectly into line, than he attacked it with such irresistible impetuosity, that it speedily began to give way. Some of the older troops stood their ground manfully, till borne down by superior numbers; but the new levies of militia soon broke and fled, in spite of all the efforts of their officers. The confusion spread along the line, which retired before their assailants, still rallying at certain points, and covered by Greene's division, which opened its ranks to receive the fugitives. Meanwhile, being assured by the cannonading that Howe's manœuvre had proved successful, Knyphausen converted his feigned attack into a real one, passed the ford, drove in its defenders after a stout resistance, and by his advance completed the discomfiture of the Americans. Greene's division still continued to cover the retreat, till darkness overspread the scene of conflict, and probably proved the salvation of the fugitive army. The British halted upon the field of

battle, while the disorganized American battalions retreated to Chester, and thence fell back upon Philadelphia.

Congress, not at all disconcerted by this severe blow, voted thanks to La Fayette, Pulaski, and other gallant officers, invested the commander-in-chief with still more extensive powers, and determined to maintain its sitting at Philadelphia to the latest moment. Washington retained all his self-reliance and steadiness of temper under the reverse. The surprise and massacre of Wayne's detachment at Paoli, by General Grey, another serious disaster, could not diminish his confidence in the ultimate triumph of the glorious cause he had espoused.

As soon as the remains of the army were refreshed and reorganized, Washington marched out of Philadelphia, and encountering the advancing British, about twenty miles distant from the city, prepared to offer them battle for the second time. The outposts began the engagement, when a violent storm of rain came on, which lasted a whole day and night, and prevented the continuance of the conflict. He made another unfavourable attempt to stop the onward progress of the British army, who, having crossed the Schuylkill, divided into two bodies, Howe himself encamping with the main body, at Germantown, while Cornwallis, with a strong detachment, entered Philadelphia in triumph, where he was warmly received by the numerous partisans of the royal cause. On his approach, Congress retired into the interior of Pennsylvania, first to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown, where they remained until the evacuation of Philadelphia by the royal army.

In the mean time events occurred in the north which had a vast influence upon the decision of the contest. We allude to the expedition of Burgoyne, his defeat, and the capture of his whole army at Saratoga. A project had been formed to cut off the New England States from the rest of the country, and render them an easy conquest. This was to be accom-

plished by the union of an army from New York, and one from Canada. General Burgoyne started from Canada with a finely-appointed army of seven thousand regulars, and a large force of Canadian militia and Indians. Early in July, 1777, he reached Ticonderoga. This place, commanded by St. Clair, was evacuated without a siege, on the 5th of July. The retreating army under St. Clair, was hotly pursued, overtaken, and defeated. Fort Ann and Skeensborough were occupied by the enemy, and all attempts to check his further progress appeared wholly desperate.

At this crisis a small delay in the advance of Burgoyne, from Skeensborough, rendered necessary by the natural difficulties of the country, was diligently employed by General Schuyler. That meritorious officer contrived to raise the most formidable impediments to the further progress of Burgoyne, by breaking down the bridges, obstructing the navigation of Wood creek, choking up the roads or pathways through the forest, by felled trees, and by driving off all the cattle of the neighbouring country. These obstructions were so formidable that Burgoyne did not arrive at Fort Edward, on the upper branches of the Hudson, till twenty-five days after his pause at Skeensborough. Here, a painful, unseasonable, and dangerous pause was again necessary, in order to procure provisions from the posts in the rear, and to collect the boats and other vessels necessary for the navigation of the Hudson.

The progress of Burgoyne was arrested at the very point where it should seem all obstacles, of any moment, were fully surmounted. He had reached the Hudson by a most painful and laborious march through the forest, and a detachment of his army under St. Leger, who had been directed to approach the Hudson by another road, had nearly effected this purpose. St. Leger had gained a battle, and was now besieging Fort Schuyler, the surrender of which was necessary to the further co-operation of the British

generals, and was confidently anticipated. The tide of events, however, now suddenly took a new direction.

Fort Schuyler refused to surrender, and the assault of the besiegers made very little impression on the works. The Indians, who composed a large part of St. Leger's army, began to display their usual fickleness and treachery, and after many efforts made by the British general to detain them, finally resolved to withdraw. This created an absolute necessity for raising the siege, which was done with great precipitation, and with the loss of all their camp equipage and stores.

On the other side the strenuous exertions of General Schuyler had deprived Burgoyne of all those resources which the neighbouring country might have afforded him. After a fortnight's labour he had been able to collect only twelve boats, and five days' provision for his army. An attempt to obtain possession of a depository of provisions at Bennington, had failed, and two detachments, sent on that service, had been defeated. The militia of the eastern and lower country were rapidly collecting, and threatened to raise obstacles still more formidable than those of nature.

Gates was now appointed to succeed Schuyler, and arrived at the scene of action on the 21st of August, 1777.

It was fortunate for General Gates that the retreat from Ticonderoga had been conducted under other auspices than his, and that he took the command when the indefatigable but unrequited labours of Schuyler, and the courage of Starke and his mountaineers had already insured the ultimate defeat of Burgoyne, who, notwithstanding his unfavourable prospects, would not think of saving his army by a timely retreat, was highly propitious to the new American commander.

After collecting thirty days' provision, Burgoyne passed the Hudson, and encamped at Saratoga. Gates, with numbers already equal, and daily increasing, began to ad-

vance towards him with a resolution to oppose his progress at the risk of a battle. He encamped at Stillwater, and Burgoyne hastened forward to open the way with his sword. On the 17th of September the two armies were within four miles of each other. Two days after, skirmishes between advanced parties terminated in an engagement almost general, in which the utmost efforts of the British merely enabled them to maintain the footing of the preceding day.

Burgoyne, unassisted by the British forces under Clinton, at New York, found himself unable to pursue his march down the river, and in the hope of this assistance was content to remain in his camp, and stand on the defensive. His army was likewise diminished by the desertion of the Indians and Canadian militia, to less than one-half of its original number. Gates, finding his forces largely increasing, being plentifully supplied with provisions, and knowing that Burgoyne had only a limited store, which was rapidly lessening, and could not be recruited, was not without hopes that victory would come, in time, even without a battle. His troops were so numerous, and his fortified position so strong, that he was able to take measures for preventing the retreat of the enemy, by occupying the strong posts in his rear. Accordingly, nineteen days passed without any further operations, a delay as ruinous to one party as it was advantageous to the other. At the end of this period the British general found his prospects of assistance as remote as ever, and the consumption of his stores so alarming, that retreat or victory became unavoidable alternatives.

On the 8th of October a warm action ensued, in which the British were everywhere repulsed, and a part of their lines occupied by their enemies, under the gallant Arnold. Burgoyne's loss was very considerable in killed, wounded, and prisoners, while the favourable situation of Gates' army made its losses in the battle of no moment. Burgoyne retired in the night to a stronger camp, but the measures im-

mediately taken by Gates to cut off his retreat, compelled him without delay to regain his former camp at Saratoga. There he arrived with little molestation from his adversary. His provisions being now reduced to the supply of a few days, the transport of artillery and baggage towards Canada being rendered impracticable by the judicious measures of his adversary, the British general resolved upon a rapid retreat, merely with what the soldiers could carry.

On a careful scrutiny, however, it was found that they were deprived even of this resource, as the passes through which their route lay, were so strongly guarded, that nothing but artillery could clear them. In this desperate situation a parley took place, and on the 16th of October, the whole army surrendered to Gates. The prize obtained consisted of more than five thousand prisoners, some fine artillery, seven thousand muskets, clothing for seven hundred men, with a great quantity of tents, and other military stores. All the frontier fortresses were immediately abandoned to the victors.

The effects of this great triumph were astonishing. From that time forth Americans felt sure of achieving their independence. France now indicated a disposition to form an alliance with the gallant States who had humbled the pride of her ancient rival.

While these scenes were passing, Washington, aware of the situation of affairs, was in a state of great anxiety, fully anticipating some decisive intelligence. The brilliant successes of Gates, contrasted with his own repeated misfortunes, had given strength to a cabal for transferring to the former the office of commander-in-chief; and Washington well knew that the capture of Burgoyne would probably be decisive of his own fate. It was on the forenoon of Saturday, the 18th of October, that Colonel Pickering, adjutant-general of the army, was engaged in official business with Washington, in the upper room of a house at York, where

Congress was then in session. While sitting there (to quote the narrative of Upham), a horseman was seen approaching, whose appearance indicated that he had travelled long, and from far. His aspect, his saddle-bags, and the manner of his movement, indicated that he was an express-rider. The attention of both Washington and Pickering was at once arrested. They took it for granted that he was bearing despatches from the northern army to Congress, and were sure that he could inform them whether the report of Burgoyne's surrender was well founded. As he approached near them, Colonel Pickering recognised him as an officer belonging to the northern army. At Washington's request he ran down to the door, stopped him, and conducted him up to the general's room, with his saddle-bags. Washington instantly opened them, tore the envelope off a package, spread out an announcement of the victory at Saratoga and Burgoyne's surrender to General Gates, and attempted to read it aloud. As he read, the colour gradually settled away from his countenance, his hand trembled, his lip quivered, his utterance failed him—he dropped the paper, clasped his hands, raised them on high, and for several moments was lost in a rapture of adoring gratitude. “While I gazed,” Colonel Pickering used to say, “while I gazed upon this sublime exhibition of sensibility, I saw conclusive proof that, in comparison with the good of his country, self was absolutely nothing—the *man* disappeared from my view, and the very image and personification of the *patriot* stood before me.” This anecdote was communicated to Mr. Upham by Colonel Pickering himself.

Gates despatched his favourite aid-de-camp, Wilkinson, to Congress. On being introduced into the hall, he said, “The whole British army has laid down arms at Saratoga—our own, full of vigour and courage, expect your orders; it is for your wisdom to decide where the country may still have need of their services.” This intelligence, in point of

etiquette, ought to have been first sent by Gates to Washington; but the pride of the victor refused to acknowledge a superior. Congress immediately voted thanks to the army and its leader, and decreed that he should receive a gold medal.

We left Washington in his camp on the Schuylkill, watching the movements of the army of Howe, part of which occupied the city of Philadelphia, while the remainder lay at Germantown, a large village a few miles distant. The British fleet had recently entered the Delaware, but was unable to ascend the river on account of the obstructions placed there by the Americans. At the confluence of the Schuylkill and Delaware they had erected Fort Mifflin, on the opposite side of the river, Fort Mercer, while obstructions had been sunk in the river, protected by floating batteries and ships.

Part of the English army having been sent to remove these obstructions and convoy prisoners, Washington made a well-planned but abortive attempt to surprise the camp at Germantown. The army, divided into four columns, marched all night, and about sunrise fell upon the enemy, whom they at first threw into considerable confusion. But Colonel Musgrave having thrown himself with six companies into a large stone building, known as "Chew's House," kept up a destructive fire upon the Americans, and arrested their victorious career. A thick fog also came on, which further confused the movements of the attacking party. Taking advantage of this, the British in their turn became the assailants, and completely routed their enemies, who lost twelve hundred men in this unfortunate attempt, while that of the British was not above six hundred. Washington was much criticised for stopping to reduce the "Chew House," instead of marching forward, and the unfortunate result of the business lent arms to those enemies,

who were even then seeking to deprive him of the chief command.

A vigorous attempt was now made by Howe to reduce the forts. Having removed the obstructions in the river, and taken the works which covered them, some ships of war ascended the Delaware to co-operate with the land forces. The fort of Red Bank was garrisoned by two Rhode Island regiments, under Colonel Greene—Fort Mifflin by Colonel Smith, of the Maryland line.

Twelve hundred men, under the command of Count Donop, crossed the river and marched down the opposite bank to attack Red Bank. Greene retired into the fort, and received the assailants with such a murderous fire of musketry and grape, that they were compelled to retreat, with the loss of four hundred men and their brave leader. Nor was the assault of Fort Mifflin by the British men-of-war more successful, a sixty-four-gun ship being blown up, a frigate burned, and others severely handled.

Baffled in this first attempt, the British took possession of a small island adjacent to that upon which Fort Mifflin was built, and thence kept up a tremendous cannonade, while the ships advanced within a hundred yards, and poured their broadsides upon the works. For six days the defenders sustained the fury of the assault, repairing by night the breaches made during the day, and did not retire until the works were completely untenable. The whole force of the enemy was next directed upon Red Bank, which was at once evacuated, and thus the British, by the command of the river, and a free communication with their fleet, were firmly established in Philadelphia.

The rest of the year passed away in unimportant skirmishes, and Washington put his troops into winter quarters at Valley Forge, a deep and woody hollow on the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. The condition of the army was truly deplorable. It was now

the beginning of the severe season, and on their march the shoeless soldiers had stained the snow with their bleeding feet. On reaching the cold, bleak spot chosen for their encampment, they set to work to build a city of log huts, to protect them from the frost and snow. They were in a state of almost utter destitution. Three thousand men were reported as "barefoot and otherwise naked." Filth and want produced fever; the crowded hospital, destitute of every comfort, resembled more a place for the dying than a refuge for the sick; and the soldiers preferred perishing unassisted in their misery, than burying themselves alive in this horrible receptacle—the terror of the whole army. The officers, who shared these privations, found themselves, by the depreciation of the paper, unable to provide decently for their rank. Many had exhausted their private resources, others run into debt, and, finding their position insupportable, openly talked of laying down their commissions; and the soldiers, notwithstanding the patriotism which supported them, were frequently on the very brink of mutiny.

The sufferings of his army pierced Washington to the very soul, and drew forth the most pressing appeals to Congress. It is but just to say, however, that the evil arose from their inexperience rather than their neglect. The root of all the evil was the paper money. Contracts had been entered into with certain clothiers at Boston, as Congress complained, "at the rate of ten to eighteen hundred per cent.," and then only for ready money, "manifesting" in the contractors "a disposition callous to the feelings of humanity, and untouched by the severe sufferings of their countrymen, exposed to a winter campaign in defence of the common liberties of their country." These exorbitant prices were, after all, only those to which the depreciation of the paper had forced the merchants to resort. Where contracts were concluded, such was the difficulty of transport, that it was long ere any supplies could reach the soldiers, and

many were scattered and lost at the very moment when they were almost perishing for want. To keep his troops from starving, Washington was obliged to force contributions from the reluctant farmers, search the neighbourhood for concealed provisions, and intercept convoys destined for the enemy at Philadelphia.

While contending with these complicated difficulties, he was well aware that the intrigues which had been long on foot to remove him from the chief command, and to appoint Gates in his place, were actively going forward. The misfortunes which had attended his arms, compared with the brilliant successes of the conqueror of Saratoga, suggested a most unfavourable comparison. Certain officers had long laboured in secret to undermine the confidence of Congress, especially General Conway, an active intriguing character, disappointed in the office of inspector-general to the army. However great was the patriotism of Congress, it would have been more than mortal, if free from party spirit, or even in some degree from selfish interest. Samuel Adams, and certain of the New England members, had always been secretly unfavourable to Washington, his marked confidence in Greene had offended many, and Mifflin was offended at the complaints made of his management of the quarter-master's department. Anonymous letters were freely circulated, accusing the commander-in-chief of favouritism and incompetence.

Washington, aware of these manœuvres, had hitherto treated them with dignified forbearance; but a regard to his own character now compelled him to bring them to light, and let their authors know that he was acquainted with what was going forward. Accordingly, he wrote to inform Conway that a letter from that officer to Gates had been reported to him, containing the following passage: "Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it." The plot so

long working in darkness now exploded, the affair became noised abroad, and with it arose a general burst of indignation from the army and people. Gates crept out of the business but very lamely. Conway, who had been promoted at last to the desired post of inspector-general, piqued at being ordered to the northern department, offered his resignation—which, to his great vexation, was at once accepted. Being afterwards wounded in a duel, and supposing himself at the point of death, he addressed to Washington the following letter: “I find myself just able to hold the pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief for having done, written, or said anything disagreeable to your Excellency. My career will soon be over—therefore, justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are, in my eyes, the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues.”

No wonder that Washington was almost adored by his followers. He felt for their embarrassments and privations, and, as they well knew, did all in his power to obtain redress. He was painfully aware of the unfounded prejudices against a standing army entertained by Congress, and warmly protested against them. “We should all,” he said, “Congress and army, be considered as one people, embarked in one cause, in one interest, acting on the same principle and to the same end.” Such suspicions, he pleaded, were the more unjust, “because no order of men in the Thirteen States had paid a more sacred regard to the proceedings of Congress than the army; for, without arrogance, or the smallest deviation from truth, it might be said that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army’s suffering such uncommon hardships as ours has done, and bearing them with the same patience and fortitude.” But while thus seeking to obtain justice for his brave companions

in arms, Washington, on the other hand, always set the example of showing the utmost respect to constituted authority, and inculcated upon the army a religious dependence upon the civil power. And although he had not been without detractors, even among Congress, yet, such was their experience of his wisdom and prudence, his purity and disinterestedness and magnanimity, in short, his unequalled qualifications for his post, that all attempts to injure his good name only served to root him more deeply in their confidence and veneration.*

The news that an alliance had been concluded between France and the United States arrived early in 1778, and excited great rejoicings, not only in the army of Washington, but throughout the country.

The situation of the British army, shut up in Philadelphia, had now become exceedingly precarious, as the arrival of a French fleet might shortly be expected in the Delaware. Sir William Howe, disgusted at the want of sufficient co-operation from ministers, had returned to England, and the office of chief command now devolved upon Sir Henry Clinton. Unable to find transports to convey his entire army, he was compelled to march by land to New York, which he had chosen as a more defensible position. Washington now called a council of his officers, at which it was debated whether they should confine their operations to harassing and impeding his retreat, or venture upon a general action. The subject was still under discussion, when news arrived on the morning of the 18th of June, that Howe had evacuated the city.

Having crossed the Delaware, the English army, encumbered with an immense convoy of baggage, pushed on for the high grounds of Middletown. Washington resolved to intercept it before it could get there, and ordered Lee, who had the command of the vanguard, to commence an attack,

* Bartlett.

“unless he should see strong reason to the contrary,” promising to come up and support it with the rest of the army. Clinton, seeing himself thus menaced, judiciously transferred his baggage to the front, and to cover its march, took post in the rear, with the principal part of his troops.

The weather was intolerably close and sultry, the country sandy and almost destitute of water, and the march of both armies under a burning sun was so distressing that many of the horses were killed; and during the ensuing action, nearly sixty British soldiers and many Americans perished from the combined effects of heat and fatigue alone. On the morning of the 28th of June, Lee prepared to attack the British, who had encamped at Monmouth Court House, when, in order to give time for the latter to get beyond his reach, Clinton suddenly faced about upon his pursuer. Disconcerted by this unexpected move, with little confidence in his American troops, and finding his ground unfavourable for defence, Lee was in the act of falling back with his troops upon a better position, when Washington came up to his support. Irritated at this apparent flight, he addressed Lee very warmly, and immediately exerted himself to retrieve the fortune of the day. The whole American rear coming up, a warm but indecisive action followed. The English occupied a strong position, covered by marshes and ravines, and night came on before Washington was able to dislodge them; he kept the soldiers under arms, and slept in his cloak upon the field, intending to renew the attack at daylight. But Clinton had already effected his object—his convoy was already out of reach, and carrying off his wounded, during the night he stole off as silent as the grave. Next morning he rejoined his baggage on the heights of Middletown, beyond the danger of further pursuit. Though he had lost but about three hundred men in this battle, upwards of a thousand, who had married

in Philadelphia, deserted during the march. Clinton now marched his army to Sandy Hook, and embarking on board the fleet of Admiral Howe, was carried to New York. Only a few days after he had thus effected his retreat, a French fleet under D'Estaing, with a body of four thousand troops, and bearing M. Gerard, ambassador to the United States, arrived off the mouth of the Delaware. Had not this armament been an unusual length of time on the passage, it is hardly to be doubted that Clinton's army, hemmed in at once by the French and Americans, must have surrendered like that of Burgoyne.

Finding that the English had escaped, D'Estaing now sailed after them, but on reaching Sandy Hook, the pilots refused to take his heavier ships across the bar. This circumstance disconcerted a projected attack against New York by the French forces, and those of Washington, who, after the battle of Monmouth, had crossed the Hudson to White Plains. Unable to effect his designs, D'Estaing transferred the scene of hostilities to Newport, in Rhode Island.

The day after the battle of Monmouth, Lee, who could ill brook the pointed rebuke of Washington, wrote to him in high terms to demand an explanation. The tone of Washington's reply increased his irritation, and he retorted in terms of greater exasperation. He was soon after tried by court-martial for disobedience of orders, for making a shameful retreat, and for disrespect to his commanding officer. He defended himself with much skill, and opinions were much divided as to his liability to blame. He was, however, condemned upon all the charges excepting only the term *shameful*, and suspended for one year, though it was not without hesitation that Congress ratified the decision. He appears to have considered himself an ill-used man, and afterwards giving way to irritation in a correspond-

ence with Congress, was finally dismissed the American service.

To co-operate with the attack on the English in Rhode Island, a call had been made upon that state, as well as Massachusetts and Connecticut, for 5000 fresh militia. The appeal was responded to with great spirit, and John Hancock marched at the head of the Massachusetts recruits. On the 29th of July, D'Estaing appeared with his fleet, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the combined American and French troops. An attack was immediately projected upon General Pigot, who withdrew into a strong position near Newport. Several days, however, were lost in waiting for the militia, and an incident now occurred, which caused the whole project to prove abortive.

On the afternoon of the 9th of August, Howe appeared with his squadron off the harbour, and on the following morning D'Estaing sailed out of it to encounter him, carrying off the troops who were to have co-operated in the attack. A desperate sea-fight was now imminent, and the whole day was spent in preliminary manœuvres. But at night there came on a violent hurricane, still remembered as the "great storm," which lasted for forty-eight hours, and scattered the hostile fleets. The French admiral's flag-ship was rudderless and dismasted, when she was attacked by a British frigate, and nearly captured. Other partial encounters took place during the fury of the tempest, which however too effectually crippled both fleets to enable them to carry out their hostile design. Howe regained New York to refit, while D'Estaing reappeared with his shattered vessels at Newport, where the Americans were anxiously expecting his arrival. They now urged him to refit his ships in their harbour, and to co-operate in their attack upon the English. But his officers so strenuously dwelt upon the tenor of his instructions, which were,

in case of injury, to refit at Boston, that in spite of all remonstrances, he insisted on repairing to that port. The Americans were deeply chagrined that their French allies should have thus forsaken them at the pinch, and Sullivan sarcastically said, in his general orders, that he "could by no means suppose the army or any part of it endangered by this movement." He was, however soon compelled to retreat, and take post on some hills at the northern extremity of the island, when, after sustaining a warm engagement with the British, he skilfully evacuated the island. He was only just in time. The very next day, Admiral Howe, who had vainly endeavoured to cut the French ships out of Boston, returned with a reinforcement of 4000 troops under Sir Henry Clinton.

New York was now the only strong post in the possession of the English; and thus, to use the words of Washington, "after two years' manœuvring, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes that perhaps ever attended any one contest since the creation, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and the offending party in the beginning is now reduced to the use of the spade and pickaxe for defence. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more wicked, that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations."

In June, 1778, Lord Carlisle, and Messrs. Eden and Johnstone, British commissioners, attempted to negotiate a reconciliation with Congress, but failed. They then threatened that the war should assume a more desolating character, and shortly afterwards it was made evident that they meant what they said. New Bedford and Fairhaven, and other places which had become shelters for American privateers, were burned, and the neighbouring country ravaged. Baylor's regiment of cavalry was bayoneted at Tappan. The Tories and Indians desolated the loveliest portion of

the frontier. The massacre at Wyoming Valley excited a feeling of horror throughout the country. Retaliatory expeditions were undertaken. The Indian country was desolated; and Colonel George Rogers Clarke put an end to the atrocities of the Indians, for a time, by the conquest of the British posts in Illinois.

The remainder of the campaign was not marked with any event of great importance. Washington, however, laboured unceasingly—at one time in reconciling the French and Americans for cordial and united action, and at another in striving to break up speculations in provisions, which occasioned much distress, not only in the army, but throughout the country. Party spirit was violent in Congress, and no vigorous measures could be adopted in spite of the continued entreaties and expostulations of the commander-in-chief. Perhaps the greatest service performed by Washington in this war for independence, was that of spurring Congress and the people to action, and yet keeping them within the bounds of justice. But for his unceasing efforts, the spirit of union and the desire for independence must have been destroyed. By the Articles of Confederation, which were adopted during the latter part of this year, the powers of Congress were made more extensive and definite, and Washington now had reason to expect more vigorous action on the part of that body.

In 1779, the British determined to turn their attention to the conquest of the Southern State, as they had been disappointed so completely in the North. At first the Americans were unfortunate. General Robert Howe was defeated in Georgia by Colonel Campbell, and Savannah fell into the hands of the enemy. General Prevost soon afterwards compelled Howe's successor, General Lincoln, to retire before him, and advanced to near Charleston, and then retreated to Savannah, burning and ravaging on the route. A British squadron and army ascended the Chesa-

peake, took Portsmouth and Norfolk, captured or burned a hundred and thirty merchant vessels, and carried off an immense amount of booty.

In the north, the campaign was opened by extensive ravages in Connecticut, committed by Tryon and Garth. Such operations, however, only served to exasperate the people, and render them more bitter in their hatred of the British. While these operations were proceeding, Sir Henry Clinton ascended the Hudson river, and captured the forts at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point.

As the works in the Highlands were now seriously menaced, Washington planned an expedition to recover Stony Point, which was executed with great gallantry, by General Wayne, on the night of July 15th, and was indeed one of the most dashing exploits of the Revolutionary war.

Stony Point, as its name implies, is a rocky promontory, washed on three sides by the Hudson, and accessible on the other only across a morass, defended by two lines of *abattis* and outworks. Stealing with the utmost secrecy through the woods, the party near midnight reached the edge of the morass, where Wayne divided his forces into two columns, who were to assault the works at as many different points. A forlorn hope, under Lieutenants Gibbon and Knox, preceded them to remove the obstructions. The men were ordered to make use of the bayonet alone. They were not discovered until within pistol-shot, when the alarm was given, the drum beat to arms, and amidst the darkness and confusion a heavy fire immediately opened on the assailants. Nearly all the forlorn hope perished, but in spite of resistance the Americans broke through the barriers and carried all before them. Wayne was struck down on his knees by a ball, and believing himself mortally wounded, exclaimed, as his aid-de-camp assisted him to rise, "March on! carry me into the fort, for I will die at the head of my column;"—he was, however, enabled to proceed with his men. The

two columns gained the centre of the works at the same moment, with loud huzzas of triumph, and the garrison were compelled to surrender at discretion. Wayne's brief note to Washington is characteristic. "The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnson, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men who are determined to be free." In memory of this brilliant exploit, Congress voted medals to General Wayne, Captain de Fleury, and Major Stewart. To maintain the post long was, however, impossible, and after the destruction of the works, the cannon was put on board a galley to be removed to West Point, but was sunk by an unlucky shot from the enemy's batteries on the other side of the stream.

Another action of great spirit was the surprise of Paulus Hook, opposite New York, by Colonel Lee, and the capture of the garrison, thus carried off almost within sight of the head-quarters of Sir Henry Clinton. These successes, although in themselves of little importance, served to keep up the spirits of the American army and people, and to check aggressive operations on the part of the British troops.

The war now embraced both hemispheres, and the ocean that separated them; and the operations on the soil of America were comparatively insignificant. The islands of the West Indies became the theatre of conflict, and the prize for which the navies of France and England contended. Before D'Estaing reached those waters with his fleet, Dominica had fallen into the hands of the French, commanded by the Marquis de Bouille, while the English had taken St. Lucie. Having in vain sought to bring D'Estaing to a general action, Byron sailed to convoy home the West Indiamen, during which interval D'Estaing, reinforced by several ships, made the conquest of Grenada. Scarcely was this effected when the English ships returned, and a warm but partial engagement took place, which, as

his opponent was compelled to retire, D'Estaing considered a victory. According to the tenor of his orders, he ought now to have returned home with the principal part of his fleet, but having received the most pressing letters from America, complaining of the abortive issue of the attack on Newport, and urging him not to retire until he had assisted in expelling the enemy from Georgia, he determined to comply with this request. On the 1st of September he appeared off Savannah, and having sent word of his arrival to General Lincoln, at Charleston, a combined American and French force soon afterward prepared to invest the city. D'Estaing now imperiously summoned Prevost to surrender, in the name of the King of France. The English general, anxious to gain time, artfully protracted the negotiation till Colonel Maitland had returned, with the rest of his troops, when he set the besiegers at defiance. He had laboured so incessantly to strengthen the fortifications, that regular approaches became necessary, and the works were pushed on till the 3d of October, when the place was bombarded with the utmost fury. Prevost begged that an asylum might be granted to the suffering women and children, on board a French ship, till the issue of the siege was decided, but this request was rudely refused. No impression whatever was made upon the works, and D'Estaing, with his fleet exposed on the coast during the stormy season, and liable to be attacked at disadvantage by the English, felt unwilling to remain until the approaches could be carried to completion, and was compelled to hazard an assault. The French and American columns, headed by D'Estaing and Lincoln, advanced to the attack with mutual emulation, but so desperate was the resistance of the besieged, and so well served their artillery, that after a terrible slaughter, amidst which Count Pulaski met his fate, the assailants were compelled to retire, and precipitately abandon the siege.

The unfortunate issue of this affair deepened the disgust already inspired by the abortive attack on Newport.

Another deplorable reverse was experienced this season by the State of Massachusetts. A small British force having established themselves on the Penobscot, an armament of nineteen ships, carrying a body of fifteen hundred militia, were sent to dislodge them, under the command of General Lovell. Finding that the enemies' works were too strong to be taken by the force at his command, Lovell sent back for reinforcements. While waiting for them he was surprised by five British men-of-war, which burned the vessels, and scattered the troops, who had to make their way in small parties through a pathless wilderness, before they reached the confines of civilization.

To check incursions on the part of the Tories and their Indian allies, General Sullivan was sent with a considerable force against Fort Niagara, their head-quarters. Ascending the Upper Susquehanna, and routing on the way a force, under Brant, the Butlers, and Johnson, he penetrated the forests into the valley of the Genesee, hitherto unvisited, but exhibiting a far higher degree of civilization than it was supposed the Indians had then attained. Orchards of ancient growth, corn-fields, and well-built timber houses, attested a long and quiet occupation of the soil. This smiling scene was converted into a wilderness by the invaders, in the hope that starvation would compel the Indians to retire to a greater distance. It was, however, found impossible to reach Niagara, and Sullivan returned with his brigade to Easton, in Pennsylvania. No permanent relief was produced by this inroad; the Indians soon returned with increased fury, and the frontier was kept in a state of excitement until the termination of the war.

During the campaign, Washington remained with his troops in the neighbourhood of the Highlands, where the

new fortifications of West Point were being rapidly carried to completion. His position and force were too strong to enable Sir Henry Clinton to attack him, his own too weak to hazard an attack upon New York, and he wisely avoided all attempts to draw on a general engagement. Yet although prevented from mingling in active operations, he was still the directing soul of distant movements, and continually engaged in correspondence.

This forced inaction was far from being agreeable to Washington, and in the hope that Count D'Estaing would return to the north after his abortive visit to Newport, the French ambassador had repaired to head-quarters, to concert an attack upon New York, by the combined French and American forces. The season, however, wore away without the appearance of D'Estaing, and the failure of his attack on Savannah put an end to this plan, which always remained a favourite one with Washington.

The state of the army had been much improved since the last winter, by the strenuous labours of General Greene, who had reluctantly undertaken the important, but ungrateful, office of quartermaster-general. Loud complaints were, nevertheless, made of the enormous expense of his department, and it was with difficulty he was prevailed on to serve a little longer. By the depreciation of the paper money, prices were now nominally enormous. The first issues made by Congress had never been redeemed, and they had now put into circulation notes to the amount of two hundred millions of dollars. Forty of these paper dollars were, at this time, worth but one in specie. The attempt to regulate prices was abortive, a serious riot taking place upon this ground in Philadelphia. To bolster up the credit of the paper, it was made legal tender for debts contracted at specie prices; the fraudulent and embarrassed took this means of paying their debts, and Washington himself suffered from this species of legal swindling. Owing to

these causes, and to the early approach of winter, the army began to experience the distresses of the last. "For a fortnight past," said Washington, in his letter to the magistrates of New Jersey, "both officers and men have been almost perishing for want. They have been alternately without bread or meat the whole time, with a very scanty allowance of either, and frequently destitute of both. They have borne their sufferings with a patience that merits the approbation, and ought to excite the sympathy, of their countrymen." Such was the distress, that Washington was obliged, for a while, to call upon the States to furnish specific supplies of grain and cattle for his suffering troops.

As far as the north was concerned, the results of the year are well summed up in a letter from Washington to his friend La Fayette, who had returned for a while to France. "The operations of the enemy, this campaign, have been confined to the establishment of works of defence, taking a post at King's Ferry, and burning the defenceless towns of New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk on the Sound, within reach of their shipping, where little else was, or could be opposed to them, than the cries of distressed women and children, but these were offered in vain. Since these notable exploits, they have never stepped out of their works or beyond their lines. How a conduct of this kind is to effect the conquest of America, the wisdom of a North, a Germaine, or a Sandwich, can best decide. It is too deep and refined for the comprehension of common understandings, and the general run of politicians."

The campaign of 1780 was opened with spirit by Sir Henry Clinton. Leaving a force in New York more than sufficient to keep Washington at bay, he sailed for Charleston. The passage was tempestuous; some of the vessels were lost, together with all the horses. The people of Charleston gained intelligence of the proposed attack from some prisoners captured in one of the injured vessels, and

immediately prepared for a vigorous defence. Governor Rutledge was invested with dictatorial powers. General Lincoln mustered a considerable, though inadequate army, and strengthened the defences of the city. Soon after the capture of the city, Clinton's detachments overran and subdued South Carolina; and when Sir Henry sailed for New York, leaving Cornwallis with four thousand men at Charleston, it was thought that the patriots were completely crushed in that section of the country. But a fierce partisan warfare began not long afterwards, in which the British suffered severe losses. Marion and Sumpter led the patriots, while Tarleton and Brown were the chief partisans on the side of the enemy.

Washington detached what force he could spare to form the nucleus of a new southern army, under the command of General Gates. Advancing southward, this army was increased by reinforcements of militia to four thousand men. But on the 6th of August, Gates was entirely defeated by Lord Cornwallis in a bloody battle near Camden, South Carolina. But now affairs took a turn in favour of the Americans. The brave, vigilant, and skilful Greene was sent to supersede Gates in the south. The backwoodsmen of Tennessee and Kentucky gained the battle of King's Mountain; and when the campaign of 1780 closed, the spirits of the patriots were once more raised to a confidence in ultimate triumph.

At the opening of the season Washington's forces, at Middlebrook and the Highlands, were still occupied in watching those of the enemy at New York. The condition of the army, in spite of every effort, still continued to be deplorable. It was now that the distresses, which all the exertions of Congress failed to relieve, called forth the patriotic exertions of the ladies of Philadelphia. All ranks and classes took a share in this good work. Mrs. Reed, the wife of General Reed, became the head of an association

for supplying the poor soldiers with a stock of raiment. Mrs. Bache, the daughter of Dr. Franklin, took also a zealous part in this labour of love and mercy. La Fayette, in the name of his wife, presented the society with a hundred guineas in specie, and the Countess de Luzerne also subscribed generously. Many disposed of their trinkets and ornaments, and those who had no money to spare exerted themselves no less effectively by cutting out and making up linen for the ragged and shivering defenders of their country. Twenty-two hundred shirts were thus forwarded to Washington's camp, an offering which not only greatly mitigated the sufferings of the troops, but by convincing them that they were not forgotten by their grateful countrywomen, tended to comfort and sustain them under the privations to which they were inevitably exposed.

Before the end of April La Fayette arrived from France, with the joyful intelligence that the French government had fitted out an armament, the arrival of which might shortly be expected. So urgent was the enthusiastic marquis, that he had prevailed on the king to send over a body of land forces to act in concert with the republican troops. Such was his importunity, that the French minister said one day in council, "It is fortunate for the king that La Fayette does not take it into his head to strip Versailles of his furniture to send to his dear Americans, as his Majesty would be unable to refuse it." Not content with these public succours, he generously expended large sums of his private fortune in providing swords and appointments for the corps placed under his command.

While the French troops were anxiously expected, Sir Henry Clinton returned from his successful attack on Charleston, and General Knyphausen was sent on an expedition into the Jerseys, its object being, as was supposed, to withdraw Washington from his encampment in that direction, while a strong body was sent up the Hudson to besiege

West Point and the other posts on the Highlands. If such was indeed its purpose, it proved unsuccessful, and the militia of the country coming forward with spirit, the invaders were soon compelled to retire. Thus harassed and repelled, the British and Hessian troops committed the same ravages which had signalized the incursion of Tryon. At Connecticut Farms they burned the Presbyterian church and a considerable part of the village.

On the 10th of July a French fleet arrived at Newport, commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, and the troops by the Count de Rochambeau. As experience had shown that much jealousy existed between the French and Americans, it had been wisely decided that the whole army should be placed under the orders of Washington, and that the American officers should take precedence of the French when of equal rank,—an arrangement which obviated the heart-burnings and contentions that would otherwise have inevitably occurred. It was now the first wish of Washington to carry out his long-cherished idea of an attack upon New York by the combined forces, and a plan to that effect was drawn up and conveyed by La Fayette to the French commander. The French troops were to march from Newport to Washington's old quarters at Morrisiana, where the Americans would form a junction with them. This arrangement, however, supposed the superiority of the French naval force over that of the British, and this was entirely disconcerted by the speedy arrival of Admiral Graves with reinforcements for the English fleet. The latter, now superior in force, blockaded the French in Newport, while Sir Henry Clinton left New York with a large force to attack the French and Americans. Finding, however, that their force was largely increased by the neighbouring militia, and fearing lest Washington might fall upon New York during his absence, he speedily returned to that city. Thus was the co-operation of the French and Americans

again destined to become, for the present, abortive. Nothing could be done until the arrival of Count de Guichen from the West Indies with his fleet, or that of a fleet preparing to set out from Brest. The former, however, returned to France without visiting the anxious Americans, and the latter, blockaded by a British squadron, was unable to repair to their assistance.

The gloom and disappointment thus occasioned was infinitely deepened by the discovery of an act of treachery, which, had it proved successful, as, but for circumstances apparently trivial, it would have done, would have struck a deadly, perhaps a fatal, blow at the cause for which America was struggling. The works at West Point had now been carried to completion, and it was regarded as the most important fortress in the country. Not only did it form the centre of communication between the eastern and middle States, but was the principal deposit for the stores and munitions of the army. Sir Henry Clinton had long been anxious to obtain possession of this stronghold, and what he could vainly hope to obtain by force, an act of unparalleled baseness now seemed ready to place within his grasp.

For daring, impetuous valour, Arnold was justly regarded as the most brilliant officer in the American service. His romantic expedition to Canada, his naval battle on Lake Champlain, and especially his desperate bravery at the battles of Behmus Heights, had covered him with military glory. Disabled from active service by a wound received on this last occasion, he had been appointed to the command of the troops in Philadelphia. Here, as one of the leading men in the city, and being vain and fond of display, he launched out into a style of living very far beyond his means. He had married a beautiful and accomplished girl much younger than himself, the daughter of a Mr. Shippen, one of the leading Tories, who had been an object of great

attraction to the British officers during their occupation of Philadelphia, and had kept up a correspondence with Major André, adjutant-general of the army, and a great favourite of Sir Henry Clinton.

Pressed by increasing expenses, Arnold's position soon became desperate, and in order to relieve his embarrassments, he was tempted to abuse his office to unworthy purposes. The council of Pennsylvania brought certain accusations against him, which, after some delay, were submitted to a military tribunal. Acquitted of the more serious charge, he was nevertheless sentenced to a reprimand from the commander-in-chief. Washington administered the rebuke with the greatest delicacy and feeling. "Our service," he observed to him, "is the chastest of all. Even the shadow of a fault tarnishes the lustre of our finest achievements. The least inadvertence may rob us of the public favour, so hard to be acquired. I reprimand you for having forgotten, that in proportion as you had rendered yourself formidable to our enemies, you should have been guarded and temperate in your deportment toward your fellow-citizens. Exhibit anew those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most valued commanders. I will myself furnish you, as far as it may be in my power, with opportunities of gaining the esteem of your country." How must Arnold's cheek have been suffused with shame, and his heart filled with rage and remorse, conscious that at that very moment he had already been eight months in secret, if not treasonable, correspondence with the enemy.

Overwhelmed with debt, and having resigned his command, Arnold now tried to obtain a loan from the French minister, who, much as he admired the soldier, could not but despise the man, and while he refused his request, administered to him a delicate but cutting reproof. "You desire of me a service," he said, "which it would be easy for me to ren-

der, but which would degrade us both. When the envoy of a foreign power gives, or, if you will, lends money, it is ordinarily to corrupt those who receive it, and to make them the creatures of the sovereign whom he serves." Driven to desperation, insulted by the populace, and galled by the malignant satisfaction of his enemies, Arnold now meditated the blackest treason, disguising it to his own mind under the plea of what he chose to consider his country's ingratitude. Through the medium of his wife he opened a secret correspondence in a feigned hand and name with Major André, promising, if duly rewarded, to render a service as important to the royalist, as it would be ruinous to the republican cause. Whether his wife was ignorant of the nature of the correspondence, or, as many suppose, the original tempter to the crime, is a question that would seem never to have been satisfactorily ascertained.

Arnold's next step was to obtain the command of West Point, readily granted him by the unsuspecting Washington. No sooner had he done so, than he proposed, for a certain sum, to betray it into the hands of Clinton.

To be sure that he was not duped, a conference was required by the British general with his hidden correspondent, and both by Arnold and Clinton Major André was fixed upon to negotiate the bribe, and concert the necessary arrangements for the delivery of the fortress. That officer, whatever may have been his secret dislike to the office, felt it to be his duty in the interest of his country's service, to offer no opposition to the wish of his chief. He therefore accepted the unpleasant task, being specially instructed by Clinton not to change his dress, nor, by venturing within the American lines, lay himself open to the charge of being a spy. To facilitate the design, the Vulture sloop of war, having Major André on board, ascended the Hudson river, as far as Teller's Point. Arnold's difficulty was now to get André on shore. The traitor himself was then occupying

the house of one Smith, either his accomplice or dupe, whom he persuaded to go off and fetch him. At midnight on the 21st of September, Smith rowed off to the Vulture. André descended into the boat, and both landed at the foot of a lofty wooded mountain, where Arnold, concealed among the trees, was anxiously awaiting his arrival. The remaining hours of night were too brief to settle all the details of their conference; the dawn was approaching; Smith, full of alarm, entreated them to break it off. Arnold urgently pressed André to accompany him as far as Smith's house, assuring him he might do so without the slightest danger. In an evil hour he complied with this request. Mounting a horse brought by a servant, he passed with Arnold the American lines at Haverstraw, and having reached Smith's house, the forenoon was spent in concerting the details of the surrender. Arnold furnished him with an exact account of the force at West Point, which he desired him to conceal in his stockings, gave him a pass, in the name of Anderson, to cross the lines, and then returned to his head-quarters at Robinson's house, opposite West Point. Meanwhile, sensible that he had come on shore without a flag, André began to be seriously uneasy. He had intended to return on board the Vulture, but in the interim, the commander of a battery had opened a cannonade on that ship, for which he was reprimanded, as an idle waste of powder and shot. That discharge decided the fate of André, and, perhaps, the destinies of America. The Vulture was obliged to retire some distance lower down the river, and Smith, afraid to pass the guard boats, now positively refused to take André on board, but offered to accompany him on horseback beyond the American lines, whence he could return to New York by land. Having no alternative, André reluctantly complied, having, at Arnold's suggestion, exchanged his regimentals for an ordinary dress. They set out a little before sunset, crossed the river at

King's Ferry to Verplanck's Point, and it being now dark, took the road towards New York. At the outposts they were challenged by a sentinel. André's pass was closely scrutinized by the officer on duty, and many and close inquiries addressed to him. At length, to his infinite satisfaction, he was released with an apology, and advised to remain all night, on account of the marauders with which the neutral ground was infested. It was only after great persuasion on the part of Smith, that André consented to do so, and the former afterwards declared that he passed the night in great restlessness and uneasiness. At the dawn of day they were again in the saddle; and now, considering himself beyond the reach of danger, the spirits of the young officer, which had hitherto been depressed by the sense of danger, recovered their natural elasticity. After breakfasting on the road they parted, and André continued his road towards New York alone.

The tract upon which he now entered was called "the Neutral Ground," extending thirty miles along the Hudson, between the English and American lines. It was infested by two gangs of marauders, the offspring of civil commotion, respectively denominated Cow-boys and Skinners. The former were mostly refugees attached to the British side, who made it their vocation to drive off cattle to the army at New York. The Skinners were professed patriots, but were detested even more than the Cow-boys by their own countrymen, between whom and the enemy they made but small distinction in their predatory expeditions.

It happened that on the morning a party, consisting of John Paulding and two associates, had concealed themselves by the road, on the look-out for cattle or travellers. Paulding, it is said, had escaped from prison in New York only three days before, in the disguise of a German yager, which he then wore. Seeing a gentleman approach, he sprung out and seized his bridle, and presenting his firelock, de-

manded of him where he was going. André, deceived by the dress, exclaimed, "Thank God, I am once more among friends!" and addressing the men, said, "I hope you belong to our party." "What party?" exclaimed his captors. "The Lower (or British) party," was his reply; upon which, they rejoined that they did. André, thus deceived, imprudently avowed himself a British officer bound upon urgent business. They now caused him to dismount, and conducted him into a thicket, cut his saddle and cloak lining, as André himself declared, in quest of money, and not finding it, said, "He may have it in his boots;" which, with his stockings, they caused him to pull off. The papers which Arnold had given him at parting were thus discovered. Their suspicions were now aroused, and, notwithstanding the offers of André to give them what he had, which, however, was but a small sum in paper, and send them any amount they might desire, Paulding and his companions, prompted by patriotic motives, refused his most tempting offers, and persisted in conducting him to North Castle, the nearest military post, where he was delivered up to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, the officer in command.

Jameson, having looked over the papers, was in a state of great perplexity, never entertaining the most distant suspicion of Arnold. He decided at length on forwarding his prisoner to that general, informing him that he had sent the papers, found in André's boots, to Washington, as being of "a very dangerous tendency." André accordingly was on his way to West Point, with a guard, when Major Tallmadge, next in command to Jameson, stated his suspicions of treachery, and earnestly begged that the prisoner might be recalled. With some reluctance his request was granted, the letter to Arnold was sent forward, and André, who might otherwise have escaped with Arnold, was brought back again. Finding his papers had been sent to Washington, he now wrote him a letter, explaining his name and

rank, and giving a clear and candid account of the circumstances under which he had been betrayed within the American lines. This letter he handed to Tallmadge, who, though he had suspected that his captive was a military man, now found, to his surprise, that he was adjutant-general to the British army.

Meanwhile Washington, who, on his return from Hartford, had passed the night at Fishkill, set off with his suite before dawn, with the intention of breakfasting with Arnold at Robinson's house. When nearly opposite West Point he turned his horse down a lane, when La Fayette reminded him that he was taking the wrong road, and that Mrs. Arnold was, no doubt, waiting breakfast for them. "Ah," replied Washington, jokingly, "I know you young men are all in love with Mrs. Arnold, and wish to get where she is as soon as possible. You may go and take your breakfast with her, and tell her not to wait for me, for I must ride down and examine the redoubts on this side the river, and will be there in a short time." His officers, however, declined to leave him, and two of his aides-de-camp were sent forward to explain the cause of the delay.

On learning that Washington and his suite would not be there for some time, Arnold and his family sat down to breakfast with the aides. While they were yet at table, Lieutenant Allen came in, and presented the letter from Jameson, informing Arnold that "*Major André, of the British army, was a prisoner in his custody.*" Controlling his agitation, he arose, with the letter in his hand, and telling his companions that his presence was urgently required at West Point, he went up stairs to his wife's chamber, and sent to call her. In a few words he explained to her that he must fly for his life, and that they might never meet again. She fell in a swoon upon the floor. Kissing his child, he hastily descended to the river-side, and entered his six-oared barge, telling the men that he was going on

board the Vulture with a flag. Unconscious of his purpose, and stimulated by the promise of drink, they exerted themselves to the utmost to reach the vessel. Arnold, leaping on board, was placed beyond the reach of pursuit.

Soon after he had departed, Washington returned, and after breakfasting, determined to cross over to West Point. As the whole party glided across the river, surrounded by the majestic scenery of the Highlands, Washington said, "Well, gentlemen, I am glad, on the whole, that General Arnold has gone before us, for we shall now have a salute, and the roaring of the cannon will have a fine effect among these mountains." The boat drew near to the beach, but no cannon were heard, and there was no appearance of preparation to receive them. "What," said Washington, "do they not intend to salute us?" As they landed, an officer descended the hill, and apologized for not being prepared to receive such distinguished visitors. "How is this, sir?" said Washington; "is not General Arnold here?" "No, sir," replied the officer, "he has not been here these two days, nor have I heard from him within that time." "This is extraordinary," said Washington, "we were told he had crossed the river, and that we should find him here;" and then ascended the hill, and inspected the fortifications. On his return to the house he was encountered by Hamilton, who, taking him aside, placed in his hands the papers forwarded by Jameson, together with the letter of André. Washington was deeply distressed, for no officer had rendered more important service to America than Arnold, or might have seemed more deeply pledged to it. "Whom can we trust now?" he sadly exclaimed to his companions. The house was a scene of misery. Arnold's wife was frantic with grief, and the sympathies of Washington and his officers were warmly excited for her deplorable situation. Shortly afterward a letter came in from Arnold, begging protection for his wife and child. "I have

no favour," said the hardened traitor, "to ask for myself, I have too often experienced the ingratitude of my country to attempt it, but from the known humanity of your Excellency, I am induced to ask your protection for Mrs. Arnold from every insult and injury that a mistaken vengeance of my country might expose her to. It ought only to fall on me. She is as innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong." Such an appeal was, however, unnecessary; the heart of Washington felt for the unhappy woman, and she received from him a pass to repair to her husband at New York.

André was conducted to Tappan, and tried by a court martial, of which General Greene was president. He was condemned as a spy, and sentenced to be hung.

On learning the nature of his sentence, André wrote a pathetic letter to Washington, entreating that he might be allowed to die the death of a soldier. Deeply affected, the commander-in-chief referred the subject to his officers, who unanimously desired that André should be shot, with the sole exception of General Greene, the president. "André," said he, "is either a spy, or an innocent person. If the latter, to execute him, in any way, will be murder; if the former, the mode of his death is prescribed by law, and you have no right to alter it. Nor is this all. At the present alarming crisis of our affairs the public safety calls for a solemn and impressive example. Nothing can satisfy it short of the execution of the prisoner as a common spy; a character of which his own confession has clearly convicted him. Beware how you suffer your feelings to triumph over your judgment. Indulgence to one may be death to thousands. Through mistaken sensibility, humanity may be wounded, and the cause of freedom sustain an injury you cannot remedy.

"Besides, if you shoot the prisoner instead of hanging him, you will excite suspicions which you will be unable to

allay. Notwithstanding all your efforts to the contrary, you will awaken public compassion, and the belief will become general that, in the case of Major André, there were exculpatory circumstances, entitling him to lenity beyond what he received—perhaps entitling him to pardon. Hang him, therefore, or set him free.” The arguments of Greene prevailed, and the ignominious sentence was accordingly confirmed.

Compassion for André and detestation for Arnold now suggested to Washington the idea of effecting, if possible, an exchange, and transferring the penalty to be incurred by the former, upon the guilty head of the latter. This proposal was indirectly made to Sir Henry Clinton, but deeply as he loved André, and much as he must have despised Arnold, yet honour forbade that he should give up the traitor to the vengeance of his injured country.

Major André died with great firmness, though feeling keenly the degrading character of his death.

Arnold was rewarded for his treachery by a present of ten thousand pounds, and the rank of Colonel in the British army. But he was secretly detested by all the brave spirits among the invaders.

The last year of the war of independence (1781) opened gloomily for the Americans. The regular troops had endured the extremity of hardship without repining, but now, without pay or clothing, forgotten as it seemed by an ungrateful country, they at length broke out into mutiny, and resolved to wring from the fears of Congress what they had failed to obtain from their justice or their pity. On the night of the 1st of January, at a concerted signal, the whole Pennsylvania line turned out and declared their intention of marching upon Philadelphia. Their officers sought in vain to restrain them; in their mood of exasperation they killed one of them, and wounded several others. When even Wayne himself advanced with a cocked pistol,

they pointed their bayonets at his breast, exclaiming, "General, we love, we respect you, but if you fire you are a dead man. We are not going to desert to the enemy. Were he in sight this moment, you would see us fight under your orders in defence of our country. We love liberty, but we cannot starve." Finding them fixed in their determination, Wayne sent provisions after them to prevent their plundering the inhabitants, and proposed to the sergeants who had been elected leaders of the revolt to send a deputation to Congress. The soldiers, however, were not in a mood to temporize, and insisted on marching forward. At Trenton, they were met by three emissaries of Sir Henry Clinton, who had seized what he thought the propitious moment to seduce them by liberal promises. But however exasperated by their sufferings, the men disdained the idea, as they said, of becoming *Arnolds*; and they seized upon their British tempters, who were afterwards tried and executed as spies.

In this alarming state of things, when the refusal of their claims might induce them to disband and return to their homes, Congress, obliged to bend, sent a deputation to meet and conciliate the mutineers. Suffering as they were, one great cause of dissatisfaction was the construction put upon the terms of enlistment, which, as they contended, were for three years *or* the war, instead of *and* the war, whereas their officers insisted on having it. On this point Congress were obliged to give way, and a considerable number were disbanded. A timely supply of clothing and certificates for the speedy discharge of their arrears of pay, induced the remainder to resume their duty.

Washington had watched this sudden movement with the deepest anxiety. While he felt on one hand, the substantial justice of the demands thus made, he feared lest a compliance with them might induce the whole army to adopt a similar method of obtaining redress. He took this

occasion of urging upon the New England States the necessity of subsidies that could no longer be safely denied, and a large sum of money, equal to three months' pay, the timely distribution of which checked any disposition to mutiny in the troops belonging to those states. But the New Jersey line shortly breaking into revolt, he determined to employ the most vigorous measures of repression. The precaution had already been taken of ordering a thousand trusty men to hold themselves in readiness for service; six hundred of these were marched down to compel the rioters to surrender. Their camp was surrounded, and finding themselves taken by surprise, they were obliged to parade without their arms and make unconditional submission. Two of the ringleaders were shot; and by this painful but summary method, the evil was prevented from spreading any further.

The able financier, Robert Morris, now came to the aid of Congress, and employed his wealth and ability in restoring the credit of the country. Affairs soon assumed a more cheerful aspect. Loans were obtained from France and Holland, which were of great importance at this crisis.

In the South, General Greene, having organized a more efficient army than the Americans had yet possessed in that quarter, opened the campaign with vigour and success. Under the greatest disadvantages, he boldly attempted the conquest of the Carolinas, as well as the protection of Virginia. His policy was to harass and divide the royal army, intimidate the Tories, and cut off the supplies; to avoid a general engagement, except where victory would be little less ruinous to the royal army than a defeat; to permit no repulse to discourage him, but turn again on his pursuers at the earliest opportunity, and fairly exhaust them with a tedious campaign. In his operations, he was greatly aided by an efficient body of light troops, commanded by General Morgan and Colonel Henry Lee. On the 17th of January,

Morgan gained one of the most complete victories of the war, at the Cowpens, where he annihilated the famous partisan detachment of Tarleton. Morgan succeeded in joining Greene, and then commenced a retreat and a pursuit, in which the skill of Greene was splendidly displayed, while the rapid energy of Cornwallis was equally remarkable. The American commander effected his escape into Virginia, and then Cornwallis relinquished the pursuit. Soon afterwards, Colonel Lee recrossed the Dan, and annihilated a large force of Tories. By this severity, the disaffected were prevented from joining Cornwallis' army. Greene then led the main army across the Dan, and after some manœuvring, ventured to meet his opponent near Guildford Courthouse. The action was indecisive. Greene retired from the field, but the British were so much crippled that they soon after retreated to Wilmington. The American commander now boldly resolved to march into South Carolina, and leave Virginia open to Cornwallis. He took up a position at Hobkirk's Hill, where he was attacked and defeated by Lord Rawdon. But, with his usual skill, he rallied his forces, and presented as formidable a front as ever. Rawdon was at length compelled to evacuate Camden and retire to Charleston. The American commander now besieged the strong post of Ninety-Six, but Rawdon advancing with reinforcements to its aid, he was compelled to retire. These reverses did not dishearten Greene. He said he would recover South Carolina or perish in the attempt. Soon afterwards, he pressed operations so vigorously that Rawdon was thrown upon the defensive, and Ninety-Six was evacuated. Both armies then sought repose from the fatigues of an arduous campaign (July). Rawdon returning to Europe, the British army was left under the command of Colonel Stuart.

During the oppressive heats Greene continued on the salubrious Santee Hills, engaged in exercising his army and

rendering it more capable of encountering that of the enemy, against whom he determined to advance. On the 21st of August, having received a supply of horses for his cavalry, he left his encampment, and taking a circuitous direction, fell in with the English army at the Eutaw Springs. Here, on the morning of the 8th of September, was fought one of the bloodiest and most obstinately contested engagements during the whole war. The number of the combatants was about equal, and the struggle was maintained on both sides with obstinate valour and varying success. Both parties resorted to the bayonet, and used it with equal skill and determination, many individuals of both armies being mutually transfixed with the deadly weapon. At length the English left, attacked simultaneously in front and flank, gave way, covered by the English infantry under Major Marjoribanks. Colonel Washington, being sent to charge him with his cavalry, got entangled in an almost impervious thicket, and was wounded and taken prisoner, and his detachment obliged to withdraw. As the broken English left fell back, they threw themselves into a large brick-house, which enabled Stuart to rally his troops and reorganize his line of battle. This interruption cut short the progress of the Americans, and turned against them the tide of success. Greene's troops in vain attempted to force an entry, and even his artillery failed to dislodge the English. Their whole line now advanced, and having recovered the ground from which they had been driven, proceeded no further, while Greene also withdrew his troops. Both parties claimed a victory, and in proportion to their numbers their loss was about equal. But all the advantage was in favour of Greene, who, after falling back a few miles in quest of water, again advanced in quest of his enemy. Crippled as he was by this engagement, and fearing lest he should be cut off from Charleston, Colonel Stuart returned to Monk's Corner, his rear-guard being harassed by Marion and Lee. Thus



BATTLE OF EUTAW SPRINGS.

by the persevering policy of Greene were the English at length restricted to a narrow corner of Carolina, the whole of which they had so recently overrun as conquerors. Unable to pursue his advantages, owing to the weakness and almost destitution of his army, he returned to his encampment on the high hills of Santee.

Virginia was now to become the scene of decisive operations. Her coasts had been ravaged by the British fleets, and an army under the command of the infamous Arnold. The American forces in the state were placed under the command of General Steuben and La Fayette. Lord Cornwallis, in consequence of Greene's bold inroad upon the Carolinas, had resolved to leave those provinces to be defended by the forces stationed there, and to carry his arms into Virginia. In pursuance of this plan, he crossed the Roanoke, and soon after effected a junction with the corps under Phillips, besides being reinforced by four regiments from New York, thus largely outnumbering the feeble force commanded by La Fayette, who, retiring before him, succeeded in joining the Pennsylvania troops under Wayne. At the approach of the British general, the Assembly of Virginia adjourned from Richmond to Charlottesville. By the activity of Tarleton, however, several members were captured, and Jefferson himself had a very narrow escape. Destroying arms and stores, and ravaging the country before them, the British troops continued to advance, followed, however, by La Fayette, who, with a judgment that would have done honour to a veteran commander, continued to hang upon the skirts and harass the progress of his able and powerful adversary. While thus overrunning Virginia, Cornwallis received an order from Sir Henry Clinton, then expecting an attack upon New York, to send him a detachment of his army, and after a smart skirmish with La Fayette, had reached Portsmouth, and actually embarked the troops, when he received a counter-order from his chief,

who, in the meanwhile, had been relieved by reinforcements from England. According to his new instructions he was to retain the troops and establish himself at Portsmouth, where he could easily co-operate with an expected fleet. This station appearing, however, less favourable for the purpose than Yorktown, Cornwallis shortly after removed thither with his entire army, and diligently proceeded to throw up intrenchments to secure his new position.

The French troops under Rochambeau were still at Newport, where they had remained inactive ever since their landing, and Washington and his army occupied the neighbourhood of the Highlands, when the welcome news arrived, that a powerful French fleet, commanded by the Count de Grasse, might shortly be expected on the American coasts. The favourite design of Washington, in which he had been so often disappointed, and which, could it be realized, would have proved a decisive and brilliant termination of the war, now seemed as if within the reach of accomplishment. An express was sent to the Count de Grasse, requesting him to direct his course to New York. Rochambeau's troops were marched to the Hudson, where they effected a junction with those of Washington. Thus was the city surrounded on the land side, and the arrival of De Grasse, to co-operate with the attack by sea, was expected with the greatest anxiety. After remaining in this state of high-wrought suspense for several weeks, Washington received despatches announcing that it was not the intention of the French admiral to come to New York, but repair to the Chesapeake, and that his stay upon the coast must necessarily be brief. Here seemed to occur another instance of the futility of French co-operation which had so often disappointed the hopes of the Americans. Never, it is said, was Washington more distressed and agitated than on the receipt of this despatch. His attendants were obliged to leave him, and shut up in his own chamber, he gave way for a

while to the uncontrollable excitement of his feelings. His wonted self-command, however, soon recovered the ascendancy, and he now applied all his energies to improve the opening afforded him by this new and unexpected turn of affairs.

The plan he formed was to march upon Virginia, and with the expected succours enclose Cornwallis by land, while the fleet of De Grasse blockaded the river and prevented him from receiving help by sea. As Clinton and Cornwallis were alike unsuspecting and ignorant of his design, to the success of which secrecy and despatch were above all essential, every possible artifice was made use of to conceal it. Batteries were established in New Jersey as if for extensive operations, surveys carried on, and other contrivances resorted to. But what especially served to cast a film over the eyes of Clinton, was the receipt of letters he had been artfully allowed to intercept. The bearer of one of these, a young man named Montagnie, was directed by Washington to proceed to Morristown by the way of the Ramapo Pass. Knowing it to be infested by the Cow-boys, he ventured to suggest that he should be sent some other road. "Your duty, young man," said Washington, stamping his foot, "is not to talk, but to obey." He set off, and, as he anticipated, was captured and thrown into prison at New York. His despatches, which contained the plan of an attack upon the city, were taken from him, and next day made their appearance in the gazette. Clinton was thoroughly bamboozled, and so fully satisfied that New York was the point about to be menaced, that even when Washington began to march his troops to the southward, he regarded it merely as a feint in order to throw him off his guard, and hugging himself with malicious satisfaction, remained securely within his defences.

Profiting by this illusion, which he could not expect would long continue, Washington, having directed the formation

of depots and transports at different points on the line of march, and ordered La Fayette to take up a position so as to intercept Cornwallis in case of his retreat, rapidly advanced toward the scene of action. Having crossed the Jerseys and reached Philadelphia, a serious, and what might have been a fatal, interruption to their progress occurred. The soldiers of the eastern and middle states evinced great disinclination to march southward, and to put them in good humour, it was highly desirable to advance them a month's pay in specie. But the treasury was empty, and had it not been for Rochambeau, who advanced Morris a sufficient loan from the French military chest, to be replaced within thirty days, the consequences might have proved extremely serious. At this critical moment, Laurens arrived from France, after a successful mission, with a large supply of clothing, arms, ammunition, and specie. While the army pursued its march, Washington, accompanied by Rochambeau, paid a hurried visit to Mount Vernon, for the first time during his long and anxious struggle of more than six years. Both generals then repaired to the camp of La Fayette, at Williamsburg, where they awaited with intense anxiety the news of De Grasse's arrival, which after all might be entirely frustrated by a superiority of the English at sea.

In truth, the English admiral, Lord Rodney, expecting that a portion, though not the whole, of the French fleet would proceed to the coast of America, had despatched Hood with fourteen ships of the line, to reinforce the squadron of Graves, the commander of the English fleet. On the 25th of August, Hood arrived off the Chesapeake, and not finding his superior admiral, directed his course to New York. No sooner had he arrived there, than the news came that Du Barras, commander of the French fleet at Newport, had put to sea to effect a junction with the expected fleet of De Grasse. The English admiral-in-chief

now sailed to prevent, if possible, this junction, and had reached the entrance to the Chesapeake, when he found De Grasse's fleet of twenty-four ships of the line at anchor within Cape Henry. Three thousand troops had already been landed, and some ships sent up the river to blockade Cornwallis in Yorktown. The French admiral stood out to sea, and for five days artfully kept up a distant engagement, until assured that Barras also had safely entered the river, when he returned to his original position. Unsuccessful in his object, the English admiral was obliged to return disappointed to New York.

Thus, while Lord Cornwallis was daily expecting the co-operation of an English fleet, he suddenly, to his astonishment, found himself blockaded both by land and sea. After so many abortive attempts at co-operation, the French and American forces, by this extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, so skilfully improved by Washington, were about to strike a final and decisive blow.

The town of York, standing on an eminence above the river of that name, had, by the labours of the English troops, been rendered as strong as possible. Flanked and half-encircled on the right by a marshy ravine, it was accessible only by a limited space, defended by strong lines flanked by a redoubt and bastion. On the opposite side of the river, here about a mile across, was Gloucester Point, defended by Colonel Tarleton with a body of cavalry.

As soon as De Grasse had arrived, Washington repaired on board and concerted with him the plan of operations. Transports were sent for the American troops, who speedily joined those already before the place. The Americans were stationed on the right hand, the French upon the left, in a semicircular line extending on each side to the river. The post at Gloucester was merely blockaded; but around York, the besieging army immediately began to construct regular approaches.

Strong as was the force by which he was invested, Cornwallis was at first but little uneasy. The film having fallen from the eyes of Sir Henry Clinton, he determined to strain every nerve to throw succours into Yorktown, and had despatched a messenger with a letter in secret cipher, who succeeded in eluding the watchfulness of the American sentinels. This missive informed Cornwallis, that but for the damage sustained by Graves' ships he would at once repair to his assistance, but that by the 5th of October, as he hoped, they should be on their way to him with a fleet and army. Building somewhat too confidently on these anticipations, Cornwallis withdrew his troops from the outer line of defences, and concentrated them within the narrow limits of Yorktown.

In order to create a diversion, and if possible induce Washington to withdraw a portion of his troops, Arnold, just returned from Virginia, was despatched with a considerable force, consisting chiefly of Hessians and Tories, to make a descent upon the New England coasts. Landing near the flourishing town of New London, and finding but little opposition from the militia, they set the town and shipping on fire; Arnold, it is said, standing in a church belfry to witness the conflagration. On the opposite side of the river was Fort Griswold, into which the militia had retreated, and which might have facilitated the escape of a portion of the shipping. Arnold, therefore, ordered it to be reduced. After being summoned in vain to surrender, it was attacked with great spirit, but just as bravely defended; and it was not until the British had sustained a heavy loss that they succeeded in effecting an entrance by storm. Colonel Ledyard, the commandant, now ordered his men to throw down their arms. One of the British officers, mortally wounded in the attack, had exhorted his comrades, in dying, to kill every man in the fort. Exasperated at the protracted defence and the loss of several

officers, the British, instead of respecting the bravery of the defendants, commenced an indiscriminate massacre. "Who commands this garrison?" shouted, as he entered, Major Bromfield, a New Jersey loyalist, at the head of the attacking party. "I did, sir, but you do now," said Ledyard, presenting his sword, with which his savage captor instantly ran him through the body. The place was ankle-deep in blood, and the slaughter went on till one of the officers exclaimed, "My soul can no longer bear this butchery." Seventy men were killed and thirty-five more dangerously wounded; some of the latter were put into a baggage wagon, which was then thrust down the rugged surface of the hill, in the hope that it might plunge into the river and get rid of the poor wretches by a general *noyade*. The jolting of the wagon killed some outright and horribly tortured others, until arrested in its course by a tree. The prisoners were then taken out and confined all night in a neighbouring house, suffering, in addition to their other agonies, the extremities of thirst, until relieved next morning by Fanny Ledyard, niece to the murdered colonel, who came to their succour with a supply of necessaries. After these proceedings, as barbarous as they were useless in a military point of view, Arnold and his companions returned to New York.

To return to the siege of Yorktown; the besiegers, having completed their works, upon which they mounted a hundred pieces of cannon, opened a most destructive fire upon a place utterly inadequate to sustain it. Their balls even flew over the town into the river, and set on fire an English frigate and several transports. Cornwallis now received a second letter from Clinton, regretting that the departure of the promised reinforcements must inevitably be delayed until the 12th. Hereupon several of his officers suggested a timely evacuation, but he was unwilling to surrender while any chance of succour yet remained.

Meanwhile the allies, animated by the prospect of a speedy triumph, pushed their operations with such energy, that they were soon within three hundred yards of the place. Severely annoyed by the English redoubts, so placed as to enfilade their works, it was resolved, if possible, to carry them by storm. The capture of one was confided to the Baron de Viosmenil and a party of French; the other, consisting of American troops, was headed by La Fayette and Colonel Hamilton, the talented aid-de-camp of Washington. So warm was the emulation between the two detachments, and so vigorous their assault, that both the redoubts were carried, and included within the second parallel of the besiegers. Cornwallis, whose position now grew desperate, endeavoured to check their progress by a vigorous sortie; but the advantage thus gained was but momentary, and he wrote to Clinton, informing him that such was his distress, that it was hardly worth while running any great risk in endeavouring to bring him relief.

As a last desperate chance, the advice before rejected was now acted upon. On the night of the 16th, boats were prepared, and a portion of the army passed safely over to Gloucester Point. But as the second was on its way, there arose a violent storm of wind and rain, which dispersed the embarkations up and down the river. As morning approached the tempest ceased, and the scattered barks made their way back to Yorktown.

To hold out any longer could only create unnecessary suffering, without improving the chance of escape. The works were ruined, the guns silenced, and the fire of the enemy swept the place. The garrison was enfeebled by sickness, and the result of an assault could not be doubtful. Painful as it must have been to a commander who had marched triumphantly across the land to find himself thus conquered by inevitable circumstances, he had no alternative but to send next morning a flag of truce, proposing an armis-

tice for twenty-four hours in order to arrange the terms of capitulation.

As the British succours might arrive at any moment, only two hours were allowed to come to a decision. According to the terms proposed by the British general, the garrison were to march out as prisoners of war with the usual honours, and be transported to England. The only alteration required by Washington, was that they should be retained in the country until the conclusion of the war. No promises could be obtained in favour of the Tories, but Lord Cornwallis was allowed to send a ship to convey despatches to Sir Henry Clinton, which, by agreement, departed without examination, and the unhappy refugees embraced this opportunity of retiring to New York.

On the afternoon of the 19th of September, the British army marched out of Yorktown, and deposited their arms with the same formalities prescribed to the Americans on the surrender of Charleston. Lord Cornwallis was not present at the trying scene, but delegated to General O'Hara the task of surrendering his sword to General Lincoln. The whole number of prisoners, exclusive of seamen, rather exceeded 7000 men, of whom 3000 were not fit for duty; the combined American and French forces, including militia, to about 16,000.

This brilliant success far transcended all previous anticipations, and, indeed, had Lord Cornwallis been able to hold out a little longer (as he probably would had he not at an earlier period counted upon Clinton's arrival), the affair might after all have taken a different turn. Only five days afterward the British fleet, conveying an army of 7000 men, arrived off the mouth of the Chesapeake, but finding that Cornwallis had already surrendered, returned disappointed to New York.

It is said that the news of the surrender reached Phila-

delphia after the citizens had retired to rest, and that the watchmen, when proclaiming the midnight hour, added the startling intelligence, "Cornwallis is taken." The windows of the inhabitants flew up to assure themselves that what they heard was not a dream, and when assured of its reality, the candles were lighted, and the citizens, hastily throwing their clothes on, hurried into the streets, questioning, congratulating, and embracing each other. That night was not made for sleep. The tide of joy was too much for the bosom of one aged patriot, who, thanking God he had lived to see his hopes fulfilled, expired. When morning dawned and the glorious event was fully confirmed, the whole city was given up to rejoicing. The news flew like wildfire over the country, giving assurance to the people that the cause for which they had suffered so much, and of which, in the dark hour of defeat, they had often been tempted to despair, was now, in sober earnest, at length about to prove triumphant.

Although fully participating in feelings, which to him, who thus saw his toils rewarded, must have been inexpressibly sweeter, Washington was far from suffering his watchfulness to be lulled asleep. Brilliant as was the recent success, it might nevertheless fail to overcome the obstinacy of the English ministers. The war might be renewed, and Congress, and the people at large, tempted in the prospect of a speedy peace to relax from their long and arduous sacrifices, might be taken at a ruinous disadvantage. He therefore strenuously urged the necessity of keeping up the number of the troops, and maintaining a state of watchful preparation. He returned to the camp at Newburgh, and earnestly exerted himself, both by correspondence and personal labours, to place the army upon a footing efficient in case of the continuation of the war, and which, by showing that the Americans were still on the alert, might assist in procuring an honourable peace.

The capture of the renowned Cornwallis and his whole army convinced the British people of the hopeless struggle they had been sustaining; and the government was brought to a sense of the necessity of recognising the independence of the United States. Two large and well-appointed armies, commanded by generals of experience and energy, had been captured by the Americans, and the war had cost the British government a vast amount of blood and treasure. A further prosecution of the contest could only result in a demonstration of the weakness of the mother country.

An act of parliament was now obtained, authorizing a negotiation with the colonies, which was presently opened at Paris by Mr. Oswald on the part of Great Britain, and Franklin, Jay, and Laurens on the part of the United States.

As Vergennes, the French minister, hesitated to comply with the American claims to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, Franklin and Jay, at Oswald's suggestion, concluded a separate preliminary treaty with England. The sovereign independence of the United States was acknowledged, an unlimited right of the fisheries was conceded, and certain imaginary boundary lines agreed upon. This conclusion of a separate negotiation was contrary to the instructions of Congress, who had required that everything should be done in concert with their French allies, and it naturally gave offence to Vergennes, who, however, speedily gave his assent, and on the 3d of September, 1783, the treaty was definitively signed.

During this interval the feelings of Washington were exposed to a painful trial. The end of the war was now in prospect, and yet, amidst the general exultation, the officers, their pay several months in arrear, were suffering the most intolerable distress. Promises had indeed been made to them by Congress, at Washington's earnest entreaties, of enjoying a half-pay for life; but if they had been

neglected by that body while engaged in active service, it was feared that, when independence was achieved, they might be cast aside unrewarded and forgotten by an ungrateful country. Knowing that the negligence of Congress arose from the limited and uncertain nature of its powers, they feared not only for their own rights, but, perhaps, also for their country's safety under the existence of republican government; and they were tempted to meditate, under the auspices of their venerated chief, what they believed would be a firmer and more energetic system. Colonel Nicola, an officer through whom the distresses of the army had often been made known to Washington, was now made the organ of a proposal which might have excited the ambition of one of less pure and disinterested patriotism. After exposing the disadvantages of a republican government, and the desirableness of a limited monarchy, this writer proceeded as follows: "In this case it will, I believe, be uncontroverted, that the same abilities which have led us through difficulties, apparently insurmountable by human power, to victory and glory, those qualities that have merited and obtained the universal esteem and veneration of an army, would be most likely to conduct and direct us in the smoother paths of peace. Some people have so connected the ideas of tyranny and monarchy, as to find it very difficult to separate them. It may, therefore, be requisite to give the head of such a constitution as I propose, some title apparently more moderate; but, if all things were once adjusted, I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the name of KING, which I conceive would be attended with some material advantages."

This communication must have been deeply distressing to Washington, who had so often defended his companions in arms against the insinuations and suspicions of their countrymen—jealous as they were (and, as he must now have acknowledged, not altogether without reason) of the

dangers to be dreaded from the maintenance of a standing army. Yet he was but too well aware of the long though unavoidable neglect, and cruel extremity of suffering, that had extorted the movement; and thus his reply, full of a noble sternness, is softened by the expression of compassionate regard.

“Newbury, 22 May, 1782.

“SIR,—With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations, than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. For the present, the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary.

“I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address, which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add, that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the army than I do; and as far as my powers and influence in a constitutional way extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature. I am, sir, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

This was the sublimest portion of the life of Washington—the conqueror achieving a victory over self—the general losing himself in the patriot—the popular hero submitting himself to the legal will of the people. Here his character soars beyond that of all other chieftains of whom history has preserved a record. Here he stands, the pride of humanity and the example of all time.

The last events of importance in this protracted war, occurred in South Carolina and Georgia. In the former, Greene, with a gallant but poorly provided army, reduced the British possessions to the single post of Charleston, and at length had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy evacuate that town. In Georgia, Wayne maintained a successful contest with the Tories and Indians. When the treaty of peace was ratified, the Americans were in the ascendant in all parts of the country. The British forces evacuated the country under the superintendence of Sir Guy Carleton, who had been appointed to supersede Sir Henry Clinton.

During the progress of the negotiations for peace, the northern army manifested a mutinous spirit. The troops had toiled and suffered long, and their claims upon Congress were unsatisfied. A memorial was drawn up requiring Congress to give security for fulfilling their engagements, and also proposing a commutation of a certain sum instead of the half-pay for life. To this proposition no definite or satisfactory answer was, nor could be, returned. Some members were desirous that Congress should assume the responsibility of satisfying the claims of the army, and others disposed to call upon the States to discharge their unsettled obligations. Between one and the other, the officers despaired of obtaining redress, and some of those more active in the movement employed a young and talented writer (Major Armstrong) to draw up certain anonymous letters, known as the "Newburgh Addresses," to stimulate the army to more energetic remonstrances, and extort from

the fears of Congress, what its weakness and disunion had prevented it from granting. The style of the letters was vivid and impassioned, and in the excited state of the army calculated to produce a deep and dangerous fermentation. After exposing with great energy their hopeless wrongs, the writer demands of his fellow-soldiers, "Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by the revolution, and retiring from the field grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity which has hitherto been spent in honour? If you can, go and carry with you the jest of Tories and the scorn of Whigs, the ridicule, and what is worse, the pity of the world! go, starve, and be forgotten."

Washington had a difficult and delicate task to perform. In his general orders he expressed his disapprobation of the anonymous letters and the proposed meeting at a new building called the Temple, and requested that the delegates from the whole army should assemble. Meanwhile, he took occasion privately to confer with the principal officers, and represent to them in the strongest colours the mischievous effect of any rash and premature measures, the dictates of passion and resentment. Having thus prepared their minds to listen to the voice of reason, at the appointed hour he repaired to the Temple, and stepped forth upon the platform in presence of his officers. There was a deep and solemn silence. Putting on his spectacles, he said, "You see, gentlemen, that I have not only grown *gray*, but *blind* in your service." This simple remark touched them to the heart. For years had they borne the toil and burden of war under the leadership of their venerated chief, upon the purity of whose motives no shade ever rested, of the kindness of whose heart no one among them ever entertained a doubt. His empire over their feelings was irresistible, and as he read to them an address embodying the results of

calm and earnest reflection, the mist fell from their eyes, and the step to which they had been goaded by insupportable distress appeared in its legitimate colours. After dwelling at some length upon the incendiary character of the anonymous letters, he turned to the advice which their author had not hesitated to offer. “‘If peace takes place, never sheathe your swords,’ says he, ‘until you have obtained full and ample justice.’ This dreadful alternative of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it—which is the apparent object—unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! what can this writer have in view by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather, is he not an insidious foe? some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature!”

Not satisfied with thus denouncing the intemperate rashness of the author, he applied himself to assuage the feelings and rekindle the hopes of his auditors. “Let me request you,” he continued, “to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress, that previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago, and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you, in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honour, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military

and national character of America, to express your own utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country, and who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood. By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice, you will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, 'Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.'" Having terminated this address, which was listened to in breathless silence, Washington departed without uttering another word. Under the influence of feelings thus awakened, the officers passed a vote, declaring their unshaken attachment to their chief, and their confidence in the justice of their country, denouncing the insidious attempt that had been made to tempt them from the path of their allegiance.

In no instance probably did Washington render a greater service to his country, than in thus repressing the spirit of revolt in the army. Fortunately, as has been well observed, he was placed by his ample private fortune above the temptation of want, and the confusion and excitement of mind that the fear of want is so liable to produce. But he was not satisfied with having recalled the suffering troops to a sense of duty, but continued to plead their cause until that justice, which indeed was only delayed for want of means, had been fully and satisfactorily granted.

On the 25th of November, 1783, Washington and his

officers made a public entry into the city of New York, amidst general manifestations of joy. A few days afterwards, the commander-in-chief prepared to retire to Mount Vernon. He took leave of his comrades in arms, with much feeling, and set out for his home, proceeding by easy stages, and welcomed as he passed along by public addresses and every work of affectionate regard.

On reaching the seat of Congress (Annapolis in Maryland), he deposited in the controller's office an account of his expenses, and informed the President that he was ready to resign his commission, in whatever way might be deemed most suitable by that body. They at once decided on a public reception; and at the appointed hour, the hall being crowded by anxious spectators, and the members of Congress being seated, Washington was conducted to a chair by the secretary. After a few moments' pause, the President apprised him that the United States, in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communication. Rising with that majestic dignity which clothed his every action, he briefly congratulated the assembly upon the happy termination of the war, resigned with satisfaction an appointment accepted with diffidence, and thus concluded his address: "Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take leave of all the employments of public life." He then stepped forward to the chair of the President, and delivering his commission into his hands, awaited, while standing, the following impressive reply. It was a striking circumstance that this address was delivered by Mifflin, the lately elected President of Congress, and one of those who, as it was believed, when Washington's fair fame lay under a cloud, was among the most active and influential of his enemies.

“Sir,” said Mifflin, “the United States, in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authority under which you have led their troops, with success, through a perilous and doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and while it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered until these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a wise Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations. Having defended the standard of liberty in this New World, having taught a lesson useful to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens. But the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages.”

Having deposed the burden of care, Washington retired to Mount Vernon, which, except on hurried occasions, he had not visited for eight years and a half. He had become, to use his own words, “a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac, under the shadow of his own vine and his own fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp and the busy scenes of public life.” Yet it was long “ere he could get the better of his usual custom of ruminating, as soon as he waked in the morning, on the business of the ensuing day, and of his surprise at finding, after revolving many things in his mind, that he was no longer a public man, nor had anything to do with public transactions.”

When the independence of America had been achieved, the necessity of a stable and energetic government was immediately recognised by all the leading patriots. Congress, under the articles of confederation, did not possess sufficient authority to bind the states together, and adopt measures to meet the wants of the period. Attempts to levy federal taxes were resisted in Massachusetts, and the rebels, under Shay, were not subdued without considerable expense and trouble. At length a general convention to frame a constitution was proposed by Virginia, and agreed to by the other states.

On the 25th of May, 1787, delegates from the thirteen states assembled in Philadelphia. Washington was chosen to preside over the deliberations, and among the members were Hamilton, Madison, Sherman, Franklin, and many other able and celebrated men. After long debates, the beautiful constitution which still binds the states together, was framed, and sent to the several states for ratification.

The constitution met with violent opposition from the "State-rights" party, headed by Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams; but was at length ratified by all the states. Then came the choice of a president and a vice-president of the United States. All eyes were, of course, turned to the country's hero—Washington. Electors were chosen on the 7th of January, 1789. When their votes were counted, they were found unanimous for George Washington, and John Adams, of Massachusetts, received a majority for vice-president.

The journey of the president elect from Mount Vernon to New York was a continued ovation. On the 30th of April, he was formally installed in office. The ceremonial was in the highest degree impressive and befitting the occasion. Chancellor Livingston administered the oath of office to Washington, and then proclaimed him president, the people responding with joyous shouts. The new president then

delivered a short inaugural address, expressing his determination to use all his abilities to justify the touching proof of the confidence of his fellow-citizens. He renounced all claims for compensation during his continuance in office, except for such actual expenditure as the public good might be thought to require. The vice-president took the oath of office upon the same day.

Congress assembled soon after the inauguration of Washington, the gallant old "Continental Congress," disappearing, people scarcely knew how. Now began the work of organizing and putting in operation the machinery of government. The creation of the departments belonged to Congress. In the mean time, John Jay held the office of foreign secretary, General Knox that of secretary of war, and the treasury was in the hands of a board of commissioners. At length the departments were created and the cabinet officers appointed. Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, was appointed secretary of state; Alexander Hamilton, then but thirty-three years of age, but distinguished for splendid abilities and great public services, was appointed to the arduous post of secretary of the treasury; General Knox was retained as secretary of war; Edmund Randolph was appointed attorney-general, and Mr. Osgood, postmaster-general. The Supreme Court was organized by the appointment of John Jay as chief justice, and a number of distinguished lawyers as associates.

The government immediately applied itself to providing for the wants of the country. Hamilton devised various schemes for raising revenue and regulating financial affairs. Among these were a tariff and a national bank. These measures excited a violent opposition. Parties were organized under the lead of Hamilton and Jefferson, and, in Congress, the debates were characterized by much acrimony. Jefferson considered a national bank to be unconstitutional;

but after much deliberation, Washington sanctioned this measure of Hamilton. The assumption of the debts contracted by the states during the war of independence, also excited violent opposition; but the scheme was adopted. Hamilton thus triumphed over all opposition; and there cannot be a doubt, that his measures raised the credit of the government, and secured confidence in its ability and integrity. During the exciting discussions between the Hamiltonian Federalists and the Jeffersonian Democrats, Washington preserved an even balance in the executive, and strove to reconcile all interests. The task was difficult, and no man but Washington could have performed it as well.

The establishment of the revenue system, the admission of Vermont into the Union, the increase of the army to resist the Indians, and the selection of the site of the Federal city of Washington, were the principal features in the labours of the 1st Congress.

On the 25th of October, 1791, the president opened the first session of the 2d Congress by an official speech congratulating the members of both houses upon the prosperity of the country, detailing the disastrous defeats of Generals Harmer and St. Clair by the Indians of the north-west territory, and recommending such measures as he deemed necessary for the exigencies of the time. During the session party spirit ran high, but the Federalists maintained their ascendancy. This Congress adjourned on the 8th of May, 1792.

Jefferson and Hamilton differed on almost every point of foreign or domestic politics. The quiet of Washington was disturbed in vain endeavours to preserve peace between the two discordant leaders of his administration. The ambiguous kind of connexion that existed both with Great Britain and France was a continual source of bickering between them. There were now agents from both

countries in America; and whilst Hamilton pressed overtures and favourable terms to be offered to England, Jefferson pressed the same for France. The antipathy of the former to France was increased by the late events of that country, where the king had been dethroned, and almost every principle of government uprooted. Some considered that in this state of things there did not exist in France a government sufficiently legal, or responsible, to warrant the payment of money from America. The insurrection in St. Domingo came, to render this question at once more important and intricate, as the menaced colonists had, in the first instance, recourse to the assistance of the United States.

The limits between the two departments were not well defined; and the secretary of state complained that he of the treasury drew all influence and affairs within his own jurisdiction. Each minister had a journal, which supported him, and was considered the organ of his opinions. The Gazette of the United States spoke in the Federal tone of the treasury; the National Gazette, edited by a clerk of Jefferson's office, espoused contrary opinions; and thus were two members of the same cabinet engaged in a paper war before the public. In the journal of one, European politics were represented through the medium of the English papers, which over-coloured the extravagant acts of France, and showed anarchy and blood as the necessary consequences of democracy; the columns of the other were filled rather from French and Continental papers, which then represented republicanism as thriving equally in France as in America. The president, however, from inclination, leaning to Hamilton's view of things, still would fling himself into the arms of neither party; and laboured with all the energy of true patriotism to allay, if not extinguish, these sources of dissension. Yet even Washington himself was not spared. His appointed days and hours for reception—rendered re-

quisite for the economy of his time—were called levees, and considered an affectation of monarchy. Some arrangements of etiquette, into which he had been betrayed whilst at New York, were adduced as proofs of similar inclination on his part. The vice-president, Adams, was stigmatized as still more monarchical in his principles and in his life.

There was now an opportunity for the discontented party to try its force, as the four years' duration of the presidential and vice-presidential office was about to expire. Against Washington, however, although the malignant might carp, there were none so bold as to propose a competitor: the difficulty, indeed, was to persuade that veteran still to undertake the fatigue of the first office. Year after year he had contemplated retiring, and year after year fresh difficulties and troubles demanded of his patriotism the sacrifice of his inclination to repose. At present Jefferson threatened to retire the moment that Washington did; the effect of which, by flinging the government into the hands of the Federals exclusively, would be to excite the rage and suspicions of the opposite faction to the utmost, and thus risk some such convulsion as that which was distracting France, and marring all her aims at freedom. Washington, therefore, consented to occupy the president's chair for another term of four years, commencing March, 1793.

The same deference was not paid to Adams. Him the opposition bent all their efforts to displace; and George Clinton was set up as his competitor for the vice-presidency. Could Jefferson have stood, his popularity would, no doubt, have prevailed. But Adams was preferred to Clinton by a majority of votes.

The chief attacks, however, were made upon the secretary of the treasury. In the discussion of the supplies, it was endeavoured to implicate him as incorrect in the management of the public money. The treasury accounts were somewhat intricate, owing to debts due and payments

made to France, at the same time that loans were raised in Europe. France wished some of this debt to be transmitted to St. Domingo, in aid of her colonists. This crossing of funds and payments had produced confusion; and Hamilton was accused not only of this, but of an actual deficit in his accounts,—a charge which he successfully and indignantly repelled. The resolutions against him were negatived; but a strong minority showed their rancour, by voting what was nothing less than an impeachment.

Washington accepted the presidency at a moment when the country was about to stand most in need of his impartial honesty and firmness. The French revolution had just reached its highest point of fanaticism and disorder, and the general war which it occasioned in Europe put it beyond the power of the president of the United States to remain indifferent or a stranger to its progress. The French republic was about to appoint a new envoy to the United States; and questions arose, as to whether he should be received, or whether the treaty concluded with the monarch of France, stipulating a defensive alliance in case of an attack upon the part of England, was now binding upon America.

These and other questions arising out of them, being submitted by the president to the several members of his cabinet, gave rise on some points to striking differences of opinion. Hamilton and Knox were for declaring the treaty void, and for openly condemning and breaking with the democratic government of France, by refusing to receive her envoy, or at least by rendering that reception cold. On the other hand, Jefferson and Randolph (the attorney-general) upheld, that any alteration which France had chosen to make in her internal state, concerned America in no manner to criticise or interfere with. They agreed, however, that for the sake of preserving neutrality, a proclamation should be issued, forbidding the citizens of

the United States from equipping any vessel for the purpose of cruising hostilely to either power. The president resolved to receive the envoy, and it was agreed, that no mention should be made of the treaty, or of its having been taken into consideration.

The appearance of the proclamation above mentioned gave a fresh subject and spur to the party feeling predominant in the public mind. Indifference to the French question could scarcely be met with. The very question was one calculated to render such indifference impossible. Every man was compelled to express an opinion, and to side either with England or France, with monarchical or democratic institutions. The great mass of the American population naturally enough preferred France and democracy; and by them the proclamation against bearing aid to these, was viewed and reproached as a political heresy. The aspersions against Washington himself became of a more violent and personal nature, and sometimes served to disturb his equanimity.

The choice which the French government made of a person to represent them in America, as well as the instructions which they gave him, tended very much to increase these difficulties. The individual was M. Genet, a man who had held some subordinate office, whose ignorance of the nature and duties of the office in which he was placed increased his natural arrogance. But the very instructions which he brought out from his government were such as to disgust liberal minds. They contained an attack upon the regal government of France; and not only insinuated, but proved, that the minister of Louis XVI., in furthering the independence of America, had been a foe to her aggrandizement. And this was put forward as a plea, that the United States should rejoice in the revolution which had taken place, and which brought them a sincere and cordial ally, instead of a false and lukewarm one. However true the

circumstance, it was indelicate so to make use of it, and impolitic, as diminishing the sum of gratitude due from America to France.

M. Genet's own conduct, however, was marked with insolence and audacity, which exceeded the patience of the American government. Instead of sailing to Philadelphia, and communicating immediately with the president or ministers, he landed at Charleston in South Carolina, and there remained six weeks superintending and authorizing the fitting out of cruisers to intercept British vessels. The enthusiasm with which he was welcomed by the people, both at Charleston and during his land journey to Philadelphia, induced citizen Genet to believe that the envoy of France must be as powerful as its name was revered. He deemed, that, relying on the popular support, he might act the proconsul in the country, and set himself above the cautious scruples of the existing government. Accordingly, when expostulated with upon his licensing of privateers, and upon the circumstance of captures made by his countrymen in the very rivers of the United States, Genet replied, that the treaty between France and the United States sanctioned such measures, and that any obstructions put upon them would not only be infractions of the treaty, but treason against the *rights of man*. The government, notwithstanding this protest, thought fit to arrest two individuals who had entered on this privateering service. Genet demanded their release in a menacing style, little in accordance with the character of envoy from an allied power; and he was supported, unfortunately, in this high tone, by the democratic party, who gave him fêtes, at which red caps of liberty appeared and circulated, and in which toasts were given, as flattering to the French republican as vituperative of the American government. Nor were these meetings confined to occasions of conviviality. Societies were formed on the model of the Jacobins at Paris, and a club was con-

stituted at Philadelphia for the same purpose as in Paris, to overrule both the legislature and the cabinet.

In a particular instance, M. Genet was enabled to show his contempt at once for the authorities of the country and for his own word. A captured British ship was fitted out in the very harbour of Philadelphia as a privateer against the English. It was ready to sail, when information of the fact reached the secretary. Washington was then at his country seat, and Genet after much blustering was brought to promise, that the vessel in question should not sail till the president's return. The word was given and broken: for the cruiser did sail upon its quest. Whilst the government was consulting its law officers, to decide how best they might deal with the French envoy, and his pretensions, the latter obtained cause of complaint in his turn, and urged that the British were in the habit of taking French property out of American vessels, contrary to the principles of neutrality avowed by the rest of Europe. Jefferson himself was obliged to tell M. Genet, on this occasion, that the British were right. But the latter would yield to neither authority nor reason; he replied in the most insulting tone, and would appeal, he said, from the president to the people. His appeal was in part answered; for one of those who were tried at Charleston for taking part in foreign privateering, was acquitted by the jury. The government, however, persisted in preserving and guarding its neutrality; and orders were issued against permitting privateers in the ports, for preventing captures within the American waters, and for restoring captures so made. As to Genet himself, his recall was demanded; a knowledge of which brought forth from him fresh insults both in word and act. A reclaimed prize, which had been taken possession of by the legal officers, was forcibly rescued from them, and kept, till it sailed, by the original French captors.

Neutrality between belligerents is a difficult and delicate

part to sustain. It was not France alone that advanced extraordinary pretensions. The British government issued orders for stopping all neutral ships laden with provisions bound for the ports of France; thus declaring that country in a state of blockade. The national convention of France had, indeed, set the example of this by an act of the same tendency, doubly rash, because impotent. But this, however strong a plea for retaliating upon France, was none for making America suffer. Corn, indeed, formed the chief export of the United States; and to prohibit them from shipping it at all—for the new regulation amounted in fact to this—was a grievance which the most pacific neutral could scarcely submit to. Another continually recurring source of complaint on the part of the United States against England, was the pressing of their seamen. These causes came to swell the tide of faction in America, as the enemies of England and of authoritative institutions took advantage of them to raise their cry, whilst the Anti-gallican, on the other hand, were as indignant against the arrogance of the French and of their envoy.

Congress reassembled in the month of December, 1793, and the president enumerated all these topics in his speech; the conduct of France and England; and the difficulty, as well as the necessity, of maintaining a firm neutrality. To be able to preserve the latter, he recommended an increase of funds and force. The late recess had been as stormy in the cabinet as amongst the people. Genet's conduct, the democratic societies, the uncertainty of relation with Great Britain and with France, had been a continual source of discord. Mr. Jefferson, in pronouncing against Genet, had found himself in the disagreeable position of one striking against his own party. He entertained the strongest suspicions of his colleague Hamilton, and he not only combated his sentiments, but counteracted his policy. The former had been for expelling Genet from the country, and for

other strong measures, which the secretary of state opposed: Washington held the balance even; but thought it unfair that Jefferson should support his clerk, Freneau, in editing a paper that reviled not only the measures of government, but the person of the president. The secretary of state was determined to retire. Previous to his retreat, he drew up an elaborate report upon the commerce of the United States, and upon the privileges and restrictions attending mercantile intercourse with foreign nations. In this he embodied his favourite views—a leaning to France, and an aversion to England; bequeathing them, as he retired, to the country's consideration, if not adoption. Randolph succeeded Jefferson as secretary of state.

The attention of Congress was first called to the report of Jefferson, and to the measures which it manifestly recommended. The principal of these was a tonnage duty upon British vessels, from which French vessels were exempt. The object was evidently more political than commercial, in which point of view it had oft been argued before. Politically considered, public opinion had grown in favour of France, in spite of Genet's folly. Two circumstances had occurred to produce this, in addition to the national tendency of republicans to favour a republic. One of these was the removal of the Portuguese cruisers from before the straits of Gibraltar. This—said to be owing to the interference of England—had opened a passage into the Atlantic for the Algerine corsairs, and had proved destructive to American commerce. The other was the aggression of the Indians, said to be instigated by Canadian governors.

For the moment, the Federal and Democratic parties might have been designated more properly as Anglicans and Gallicans; so much was a leaning to one or other of these countries, disputing for ascendancy in Europe, the essential characteristic of even American politics.

The spirit of the country and Congress was evidently

warlike. The government thought to take advantage of it in a particular point, which might serve also somewhat to distract the people from the one dire idea of hatred to England. It was proposed to equip a fleet of six frigates to cruise against the Algerines. But this was opposed. The opposition looked to but one enemy, viz., Great Britain, and she was too powerful to be encountered at sea.

Under the influence of this general feeling, Congress proceeded to consider the raising of a military force, the fortifying the ports, and laying on an embargo. Mr. Madison proposed to break off all commercial intercourse with England, and to sequester her debts. But the obnoxious order of the admiralty was recalled, and the Federal party were able to rally, and entertain hopes of avoiding a rupture.

To put an end to the menacing difference with England, was considered the first requisite step by the government, and the last concession of the admiralty was considered to warrant the despatch of an envoy extraordinary to London. Jay was appointed, a majority in the Senate being induced to agree in the nomination. This was a bold act in the teeth of a majority of the House of Representatives. However, that majority was reduced, or, at least, neutralized for the moment, the house dividing so equally upon most questions, as to leave the decision to the casting vote of the vice-president.

The violent democratic and warlike tendency of the legislature having been at least turned aside, the only difficult task which remained to the president was to allay a similar feeling, with much more menacing demonstrations of it, on the part of the people. The western states displayed a spirit of utter insubordination. Kentucky resolved not only to have the right of navigating the Mississippi, but prepared to wrest it by violence from Spain. The more remote parts of Pennsylvania were distracted by

another cause—resistance to the excise. This resistance soon assumed an organized form, and its leaders placed themselves in communication with the democratic societies of the great towns eastward, until, heated by this stimulus, they at last placed all law and legal order at defiance. A proclamation was at first issued, but proved of no avail; when the Federal members of the cabinet urged the necessity of assembling the militia of the neighbouring states, and marching them to crush the insurrectionary force of Pennsylvania. This, too, was a bold step, much disputed and decried. But it completely succeeded. A militia force, under the command of Governor Lee, and accompanied by Secretary Hamilton, marched across the Alleghany Mountains; and such was their imposing number, that the insurgents shrunk from a contest with their armed brethren, and dispersed without offering any resistance. The result was most important, and, as producing it, the insurrection itself proved beneficial, since it showed to the lover of anarchy, that there did exist a force in the country, ready to put down any anti-constitutional attempt.

General Wayne, at the head of a regular force, had been about the same time successful beyond the Ohio, where he defeated the Indians in an action of some importance. Such were the tidings that the president had to communicate to Congress, when it met, towards the close of 1794. He recommended them to complete the militia law, now that the salutary use of that force had been seen: and he alluded to the democratic societies, as sources of trouble that ought not to be permitted to exist. The House of Representatives could not bring itself to pass formal condemnation, as the president seemed to wish, upon the clubs. But the news of their fall in Paris, and of that of Robespierre, proved condemnation sufficient.

In this session of Congress the secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, sent in his resignation. He closed

his ministerial career, as Jefferson had done, by a report upon the finances of the country, containing the development and completion of his system. No statesman had wielded such influence over the infant government of the United States as Hamilton had done; and he might almost be considered as the parent of their constitution. He was the opponent, however, of the democratic regime; and as such, the obloquy attached to him was so great, that his talents and fortitude must both have been extreme to have enabled him to bear up against its weight.

General Knox at the same time retired from the war department. The two secretaries were succeeded by Mr. Wolcott and Colonel Pickering. Washington was thus left almost alone to resist the growing strength of the Anti-Federal and Gallican party, and precisely at a moment when a question occurred likely to exasperate it and call forth all its violence. Mr. Jay, who had been sent envoy to England, had concluded a treaty with Lord Grenville, the minister of that country. If his mere mission had been deprecated, how was its completion to be greeted, especially as an agreement could certainly not have been come to with Great Britain without making some sacrifices. The hackneyed reproach, however, had been got over,—that England scorned to enter into any treaty whatsoever,—and the present accommodation seemed to have been conducted on equitable terms. England stipulated to evacuate the posts occupied by her hitherto within the boundary line of the United States; they, on the other hand, allowing British subjects every facility for the recovery of past debts. Indemnification was promised on both sides for illegal captures. Freedom of trade was agreed on to a certain extent. Americans were allowed to trade with the West Indies in vessels under twenty tons, provided they carried their produce to their own ports only, and exported no such produce to Europe. This last part of the stipulation was certainly hard,

as it prohibited the American from sending to Europe the cotton or sugar of his own production. This had escaped Mr. Jay, and the president refused to ratify the treaty till this mistake was rectified. The other grievance of the treaty was the right of England, still allowed, to take out of American ships contraband articles, and to be in some measure the judge of what was contraband. This, which the government under Jefferson had loudly complained of, was now in part abandoned, and formed certainly a just ground of cavil against the treaty. However, these objections were counterbalanced by so many advantages, that the president, after some further delay, ratified the treaty, procuring a majority of the Senate to concur with him.

Never had there been a more violent expression of opinion in America, than that which now assailed Washington and his treaty—for his it was considered. Nothing was to be heard but discussions concerning it; and public meetings were called in every town, at which addresses and resolutions were drawn up against it. The Gallican party exclaimed against it as the basest act of ingratitude towards France, and of treason towards a republic, whose watchword and safeguard ought to be hatred to monarchy and to England. The grave dignity of Washington, however, contemning his revilers, rebuked with effect such violent addresses as were offered to him; and his firmness caused public opinion to rally, if not to turn in his favour. Hamilton left his retirement to defend the measures; and although the people refused to listen to him in public, he advocated it with the pen, in writings that staggered opposition, and actually stemmed the popular torrent. These exertions of the Federalists enabled the president to stand his ground and support the treaty.

In the midst of this, Mr. Randolph was obliged to resign his place as secretary of state. In his anxiety to support

the views and party of Jefferson, he had not conducted himself with the prudence that became his station. A letter of his, or rather a conversation of his with the French minister, and transmitted by him to the French government, was intercepted by the British, and laid before the president. It showed that not only the views of Mr. Randolph were at variance with the executive, but his measures to support these views,—making use of the money of the state,—not creditable. They were strongly at variance with that horror of corruption evinced by the Anti-Federalists in their abuse of Hamilton. But Mr. Randolph had pleased neither party; and in seeking to steer between them, sunk for the time.

Ere the president again met Congress, his envoys had almost concluded treaties with Spain, with Algiers, and with the Indians beyond the Ohio. Spain yielded the right to navigate the Mississippi, with a depot at New Orleans. So that these, united with the British treaty, formed a complete pacific system, which Washington aimed at establishing, ere he retired from the executive, as the last bequest to his country.

The Anti-British party were still violent, still strong. The arrival of a new French envoy gave rise, by the extravagant addresses which he made, to a fresh access of enthusiasm in favour of that country. The president kept unswervingly in his path, although now unsupported by any eminent man as minister. He proclaimed the treaty with Great Britain. Although this right was secured to him, conjointly with the Senate, by the constitution, the House of Representatives still complained that they had not been consulted; and they passed a vote, demanding of the president the communication of the papers and correspondence relative to the treaty. This he firmly refused to comply with, on constitutional grounds, and as a pernicious precedent; stating his reasons at considerable length. But the

lower house did not want pretexts for discussing the treaty, and advocating their right to interfere with it. Strong debates ensued. But the great body of the people had too much respect for the founder of their liberties to support a factious and personal opposition to him.

France remained the only country dissatisfied with the conduct of the United States. She thought herself entitled to more than common amity; in fact, to the gratitude and cordial support of a sister republic. The treaty, therefore, between America and Great Britain, had excited the resentment of the Directory, and, indeed, those articles of it, which allowed the latter country the right of taking French goods from neutral ships, were calculated to excite just complaint. The Directory, however, was not content with addressing the legitimate language of remonstrance to the cabinet of Washington. They directed their envoy to address Congress; to appeal from the president to the people, as Genet had done; and so attempt to force the government of that country into a closer alliance with France. These circumstances were somewhat aggravated by Monroe's acting as American envoy in Paris. This gentleman was an Anti-Federalist. He was recalled, and Pinckney appointed in his place.

Washington, however, was not able to bring this negotiation, as he had done others, to a term. The period of his second tenure of the presidential office was about to expire, and no consideration could tempt him to admit his reelection. Independent of his age and fatigues, popular clamour had passed, of late, all bounds in its vituperation. He had been assailed, he said, in terms "such as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, to a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket." He had been accused of receiving more than his due of the public money. False correspondence was got up, and attributed to him; and the secret papers of government disclosed and made public to

his prejudice. But these annoyances were but inducements to make him wish retirement: his reasons were more serious, and the principal of these was, that one person had ruled a sufficient time for a free republic. His intention of retiring from the presidency, Washington announced to the people of the United States, in a valedictory address, which, for eloquence and force, and for sound principles on government, must be reckoned as one of the classic records of political wisdom. From this time Washington may be said to have virtually ceased to govern. Public attention was absorbed in the choice of his successor; and although this was not decided until the year 1797, Washington's political career may be considered as closed some time before. Despite the late frowardness, the legislature were unanimous in the tribute of gratitude and veneration which answered the president's announcement that he addressed them for the last time. In the month of February, 1797, he witnessed the ceremony of his successor's instalment, and soon after retired to his property at Mount Vernon.

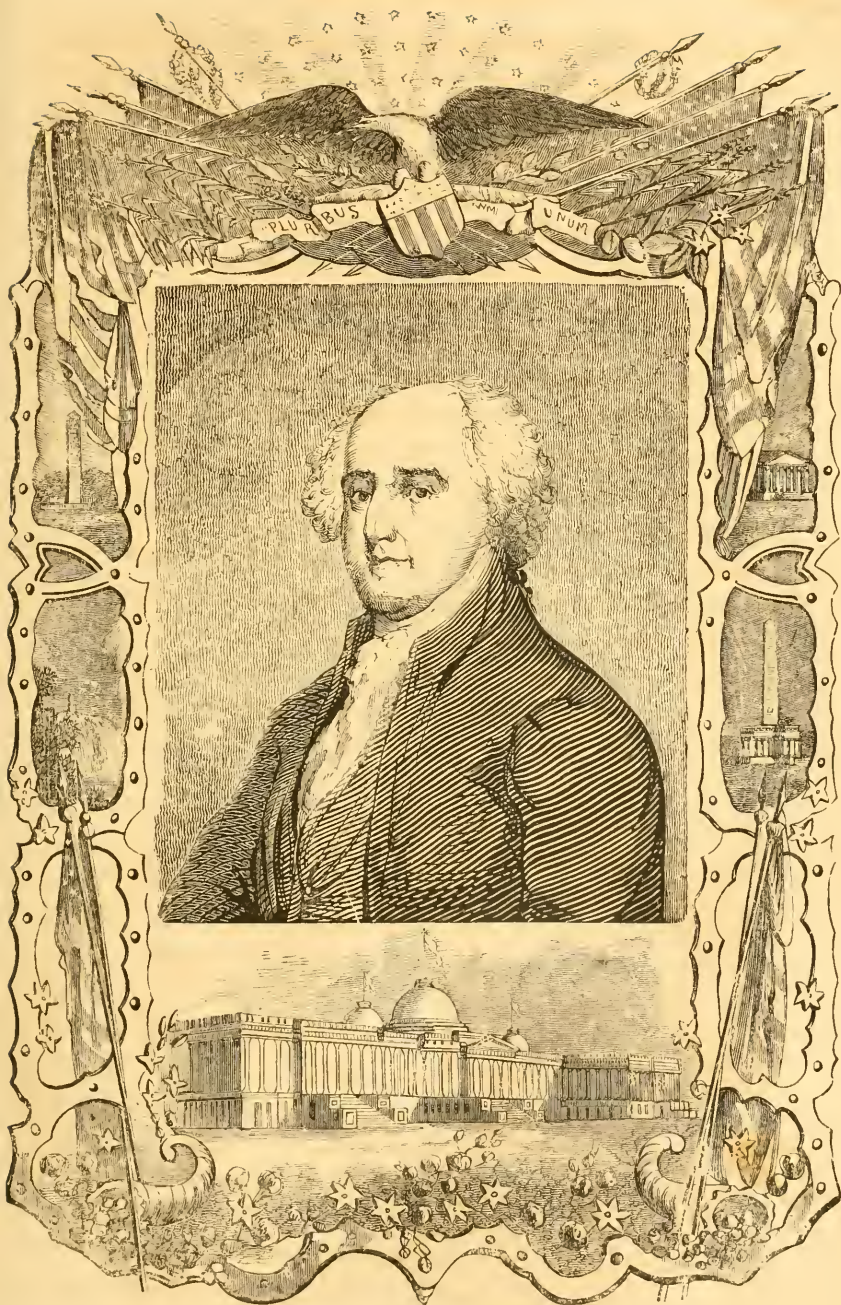
The Father of his Country now passed his time like another Cincinnatus, superintending the cultivation of his estates, and enjoying the society of esteemed friends. His quiet was undisturbed until the beginning of 1799, when war was declared against France. President Adams at once appointed him commander-in-chief, and he accepted the office upon condition that Hamilton and Pinckney should be his principal officers. He proposed to take the field; but the difficulty was settled in a short time without any hostile operations upon land. The great commander-in-chief, however, did not live to know that a treaty of peace had been concluded.

"On Friday, the 13th of December," says Chief Justice Marshall, "while attending to some improvements on his estate, he was exposed to a light rain, by which his neck and hair became wet. Not apprehending danger from this

circumstance, he passed the afternoon in the usual manner ; but in the night was seized with an inflammatory affection of the windpipe. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some pain in the upper and fore part of the throat, a sense of stricture in the same part, a cough, and a difficult deglutition, which were soon succeeded by fever, and a quick and laborious respiration.

“Twelve or fourteen ounces of blood were taken from his arm, but he would not permit a messenger to be despatched for his family physician until the appearance of day. About eleven in the morning, Doctor Craik arrived ; and, perceiving the extreme danger of the case, requested that two consulting physicians should be immediately sent for. The utmost exertions of medical skill were applied in vain. The powers of life were manifestly yielding to the force of the disorder ; speaking became almost impracticable, respiration became more and more contracted and imperfect, until half-past eleven on Saturday night, when, retaining the full possession of his intellect, he expired without a struggle.”





JOHN ADAMS.

JUSTICE has scarcely been rendered to the memory of the second president of the United States. Without the steady prudence of Washington and Franklin, or the original genius of Jefferson, he possessed more of that mighty enthusiasm which filled the breast of Luther, than either of those revolutionary leaders. The independence of his country was the aim of his life. When the tyrannical measures of Britain were first adopted, he, almost alone, was for independence. He was the colossus who carried through that bold Declaration, and he sunk into the arms of death with "Independence for ever" upon his lips. His career is worthy of more study than it has yet received.

JOHN ADAMS was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, October 19, 1735. His ancestors were among the first settlers of Massachusetts, Henry Adams, the great-great-grandfather of John, being one of the original proprietors of the town of Braintree. Their condition was that of substantial yeomen, who possessed the fee simple of their lands, and maintained themselves and their families by manual labour. Mr. Adams having, while yet a boy, evinced great fondness for books and readiness in learning, his father determined to give him a collegiate education, and, accordingly, placed him under the care of Mr. Marsh (who was afterwards the preceptor of the celebrated Josiah Quincy), that he might be prepared for entrance into the university of Cambridge.

He remained in that institution until the year 1755, when he received his bachelor's degree, and in 1758 that of master of arts. Whilst at college, he is said to have been distinguished by intense application, retentiveness of memory, acuteness of reasoning, boldness and originality of thought, strength of language, and an honesty of character which could neither assume nor tolerate disguise. After he had left college, he commenced the study of law at Worcester, with Colonel James Putnam, and, during the period he was so engaged, instructed pupils in the Latin and Greek languages, in order to be able to defray his expenses himself.

Before proceeding farther, it may not be amiss to notice the posture of affairs in Massachusetts at that epoch. For a long time previous, that province had been disturbed by almost unremitting contentions between its inhabitants and the Parliament of Great Britain, on various important subjects. Parliament becoming jealous of the power, approaching to independence, which they enjoyed, imposed unconstitutional restraints upon their commerce, violated their charters, and, in short, treated them so arbitrarily, that their spirit was completely roused, and a vigorous resistance called forth. Massachusetts, especially, had become a theatre of perpetual struggle for power on the one side, and for freedom on the other. But it was hitherto only an intellectual warfare, no idea of separation from the mother country having ever been entertained.

In 1758, Mr. Adams left the office of Colonel Putnam, and entered that of Jeremiah Gridley, then attorney-general of the province, and of the highest eminence at the bar. Gridley had, some years previously, superintended also the legal studies of James Otis, and, proud of his two pupils, used often to say, that "he had raised two young eagles, who were, one day or other, to pick out his eyes." In 1759, Mr. Adams was admitted, at his recommendation, a

member of the bar of Suffolk. Mr. Adams commenced the practice of his profession in that part of his native town now called *Quincy*, but first brought himself into notice by his defence of a prisoner in the county of Plymouth, from which time a sufficiency of lucrative business occupied his attention. In 1761, he was admitted to the degree of barrister at law, and shortly afterwards was placed in the possession of a small landed estate by his father's decease. In February of this year, an incident occurred, which inflamed his enthusiasm in the cause of his country's rights.

The British cabinet had long shown a desire to assert the sovereign authority of Parliament over the colonies in all cases of taxation and internal policy; but the first evidence of its having determined to do so, was an order in council, issued this year, enjoining the officers of the customs in Massachusetts Bay to execute the *acts of trade*, and make application for *writs of assistance* to the supreme judicature of the province. These writs were a species of general search-warrant, authorizing those who were empowered to carry them into effect, to enter all houses, warehouses, &c., for the purpose of discovering and seizing such goods as were not discharged from the taxes imposed upon them by the acts. The officers of the customs applied for them, in pursuance of their instructions, to the court of Salem, but the demand was refused, on account of doubts concerning their constitutionality. It was then determined to have the affair argued by counsel in Boston.

Great alarm now pervaded the whole community. Mr. Otis was engaged by the merchants of Salem and Boston, to oppose the concession of so formidable an instrument of arbitrary power. In order to do so with entire freedom, he resigned the lucrative station of advocate-general in the court of admiralty, which he then enjoyed. Of the masterly manner in which he performed his duty, Mr. Adams, who was present at the discussion, has transmitted a vivid ac-

count. "Otis," says he, "was a flame of fire! With a promptitude of classical allusion, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, and a prophetic glance of his eyes into futurity, he hurried away all before him. *American Independence was then and there born.*" He afterwards adds: "every man of an immensely crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance." Speaking of this discourse on another occasion, he said, "that James Otis then and there first breathed into this nation the breath of life."

In 1764 he married Abigail Smith, second daughter of the Rev. William Smith, of Weymouth, and granddaughter of Colonel Quincy, of Mount Wollaston, a lady every way worthy of her husband, endowed by nature with a countenance singularly noble and lovely, and with a mind whose fine powers were improved by an excellent education. Her ardour in the cause of her country was as elevated as his own, and her piety unaffected and exemplary. About a year afterwards, Mr. Adams published in the Boston Gazette "An Essay on Canon and Feudal law," which was reprinted in London, in 1768, and called "A Dissertation on Canon and Feudal Law." It is perhaps, not the smallest proof of his merit, that it was there attributed to Gridley, who at that time enjoyed the highest reputation for ability. The friends of the colonies in England pronounced it "one of the very best productions ever seen from North America." The name of the real author was afterwards divulged, in 1783, when it was published in Philadelphia, by Robert Bell, in a pamphlet form, with Lord Sheffield's observations on the commerce of the American States, and entitled "An Essay on Canon and Feudal Law, by John Adams, Esq." It seems to have been the principal object of the author to extinguish, as far as possible, the blind and almost superstitious veneration of his country-

men, for the institutions of the parent country, by holding up to their abhorrence the principles of the canon and feudal law, and showing to them the conspiracy which existed between church and state, for the purpose of oppressing the people. He inculcates the sentiments of genuine liberty, as well as the necessity of correct information on the part of his fellow-citizens, in order that they might be prepared to assert and maintain their rights by force, if force should ever become necessary.

In December, 1765, Mr. Adams was engaged as counsel with Mr. Gridley and Mr. Otis, to support, before the governor and council, a memorial presented to the former, from the town of Boston, praying that the courts, which had been closed on account of the opposition to the stamp act, might again be opened. Through their united exertions, the petition was successful. In the same year he removed to Boston, where he continued the practice of his profession on a very extensive scale. After he had resided there about two years, the crown officers of the province, thinking, perhaps, that his patriotism was not without its price, made him an offer, through Mr. Sewall (between whom and himself an intimate friendship existed, formed at the time when he was studying with Colonel Putnam), of the office of advocate-general in the office of the admiralty, the most lucrative post in the gift of the governor. This office was also one which conducted its incumbents directly to the highest provincial honours. He refused it, however, as he says in his preface to the late edition of *Novanglus*, "decidedly and peremptorily, though respectfully." In 1769 he was appointed chairman of the committee, chosen by the town of Boston, for the purpose of drawing up instructions to their representatives, to resist the encroachments of the British government. His colleagues were R. Dana and Jos. Warren. At the time they were thus employed, the metropolis was invested by an

armed force, both by sea and land, and the statehouse surrounded by a military guard, with cannon pointed at the door. Large majorities of both houses of parliament had signified their approval of the measures adopted by the king; had promised him their support, and besought him to prosecute, *within the realm*, all those who had been guilty of treasonable acts, in Massachusetts, since the year 1767, in accordance with the decree of parliament of the 35th of Henry VIII. Nevertheless, the committee performed their task with undaunted firmness, and reported the instructions which, no doubt, contributed to produce the strong resolutions subsequently adopted by the legislature of Massachusetts. It was on account of these instructions and resolutions that the *provincial* garrison was withdrawn, by order of the governor, from the castle, and *regular* troops, in the pay of the crown, substituted. The instructions also formed one of the specific charges made against the colony by the committee of the lords of council for plantation affairs, to the lords of council, July 6, 1770. A striking example of the firmness and uprightness of Mr. Adams occurred during the course of that year. He had hitherto, been very active in stimulating the people of his province to the strenuous maintenance of their rights, and had thereby aided in producing an excitement greater than he could have wished, and which he found it necessary to counteract. The people of Boston had become exasperated at the idea of a garrison placed in their city, and were extremely hostile to the soldiers composing it. These feelings led to an attack upon a party of them under the command of Captain Preston, March 5. They fired on the assailants in self-defence, and killed several of them. The soldiers were immediately arraigned before the civil authority, and Mr. Adams, in conjunction with Josiah Quincy and Mr. Sampson S. Blowers, were requested to aid them upon their trial. Although the minds of the people were inflamed

almost to madness, and the defence of the accused seemed to involve a certain loss of popularity, Mr. Adams immediately undertook to act as their advocate. Mr. Adams was no demagogue—he saw that the honour of his country was at stake, and he rejoiced, as has been well said, in the opportunity of showing to the world that the cause of America did not depend upon a temporary excitement, which could stifle the voice of justice, but upon the sober, steady, persevering determination of the people to support their rights. The cause was conducted by him and his colleagues with great ability, and the soldiers were all acquitted, save two, who were found guilty of manslaughter, received a slight branding as a punishment, and were then discharged. Scarcely anything which occurred during the revolution confers more honour upon the national character, and did more service to the cause of America, than this triumph of justice.

Mr. Adams soon received a proof that the public confidence in him was not diminished, by his election in May, 1770, to the legislature of his state, as one of the representatives of the town of Boston. His conduct in this new situation displayed the same patriotism, courage, and hostility to the despotism of the mother country, by which he had always been distinguished. He took a prominent part in every public measure, and served on several committees, who reported some of the most important state papers of the time, among which were the address and protest to the governor, against the removal of the General Court from Boston to Cambridge. In Bradford's History of Massachusetts, we find the following account of a controversy in which Mr. Adams was engaged in the year 1773. "The ministerial regulation for paying the salary of the judges, which rendered them wholly dependent on the crown, was the occasion of a learned and able discussion in the public papers, by William Brattle, senior, member of

the council, and John Adams. The essays of the latter were written with great learning and ability, and had a happy effect in enlightening the public mind on a question of very great importance. It subjected him, indeed, to the displeasure of Governor Hutchinson and the ministerial party; and at the next election in May, when elected by the assembly to the council, the governor gave his negative to the choice. These essays were published in the *Boston Gazette* of February, 1773, under Mr. Adams's proper signature." In 1774 he was again rejected by Governor Gage, and soon afterwards he was appointed one of the committee of the town of Boston, who prepared the celebrated resolutions on the Boston port-bill. June 17, of this year, Governor Gage having dissolved the assembly, this body, before separating, passed a resolution to appoint a committee to meet other committees from the other colonies, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests. In consequence, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine were elected to the first Continental Congress, which met at Philadelphia in the following September.

Soon after Mr. Adams was chosen, an incident occurred which gives an idea of his feelings on contemplating this daring national movement. His friend Sewall, who had taken the ministerial side in politics, and was at that time attorney-general of the province, hearing of his election, invited him to a morning walk, in the course of which he endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose of assuming the seat in Congress to which he had been appointed. He told him that the determination of Great Britain to pursue her system was fixed; that her power was irresistible, and would involve him in destruction, as well as all his associates who persevered in opposition to her designs.

"I know," replied he, "that Great Britain has deter-

mined on her system, and that very determination determines me on mine. You know that I have been constant and uniform in opposition to her designs. The die is now cast. I have passed the Rubicon. Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish with my country, is my fixed unalterable determination." On bidding him adieu, Mr. Adams said to his friend, "I see we must part, and with a bleeding heart I say, I fear for ever. But you may depend upon it, this adieu is the sharpest thorn on which I ever set my foot."

Mr. Adams took his seat in Congress September 3d, 1774, the first day of the session, and was soon chosen a member of some of the most important committees, such as that which drew up a statement of the rights of the colonies, and that which prepared the address to the king.

He and his colleagues carried with them the character of being so thoroughly desirous of independence, that before they arrived at Philadelphia, warning had been given them by some of the most respectable inhabitants of the Middle States, not to utter a word on that subject, as it was as unpopular as the stamp act itself. Almost all the delegates from other colonies were impressed with the idea that England could be brought to terms without resorting to a declaration of independence. Washington alone, of the Virginia delegation, was doubtful whether the measures adopted by Congress would be efficacious in attaining the object for which they were designed.

On his return to Massachusetts, Mr. Adams became engaged in a controversy with his friend Sewall, who was writing a series of essays under the appellation of *Massachusettsensis*, for the purpose of vindicating the cause of the government party. Mr. Adams's papers were published in the *Boston Gazette*, with the signature of *Novanglus*, and exhibited the cause of America in the most triumphant and favourable light. When Mr. Adams resumed his seat

in Congress the following year, hostilities had in reality commenced between Great Britain and the colonists, though as yet not openly declared, and the blood of brave men had stained the plains of Lexington and Concord. On receiving the account of this battle, Congress determined upon war. It was necessary to fix upon some one for the post of commander-in-chief of the troops which were ordered to be raised. The eyes of all the New England delegation were turned upon General Ward, then at the head of the army in Massachusetts. At a meeting of them, when that officer was proposed for nomination, Mr. Adams alone dissented, and urged the selection of George Washington, one of the representatives from Virginia. He was resisted; and he then left the meeting with the declaration, that Washington on the next day should be nominated. He was accordingly nominated, and chosen without an opposing voice.

Five days after the appointment of General Washington, Mr. Jefferson made his first appearance on the floor of Congress, having been chosen by the people of Virginia to fill the place of Patrick Henry, who had lately been elected governor of that province. Between this distinguished man and Mr. Adams a friendship speedily arose, which continued, with a short interruption, during the remainder of their lives. When Mr. Adams returned to Massachusetts, after the dissolution of the Congress of 1775, the post of chief justice of the state was offered to him, which he declined, on account of his belief that he should be able to render more effectual service to the cause of his country in its national councils. At the time that he resumed his seat in them in 1776, hostilities were active between Great Britain and the colonies. But the object of the latter was as yet merely to resist the authority assumed by the parent country to impose taxes upon them at pleasure. Few persons entertained the idea of a dissolution of connexion; very few even of the delegates in Congress seemed to de-

sire it ; but among these few John Adams was the foremost. We have already mentioned its unpopularity. As soon as Mr. Adams was suspected in Philadelphia of being an advocate of that measure, he was represented constantly in the most odious light, and even pointed at and avoided on appearing in the streets. Still, however, he persevered, made every day proselytes, and May 6, 1776, moved in Congress a resolution, which was a virtual declaration of independence, recommending to the colonies "to adopt such a government as would, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents, and of America." This passed, after a hard struggle, on the 15th of the same month, and was the prelude to the daring resolution, moved by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, on the 7th of June following, and seconded by Mr. Adams, "that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and of right ought to be, dissolved."

The debate upon this motion was of the most exciting character. It continued from the 7th to the 10th, when the further discussion of the measure was postponed to the 1st of July. A committee of five was also appointed to prepare a provisional draft of a "declaration of independence." The members of it were chosen by ballot, and were Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams were deputed a sub-committee to prepare the instrument, the former of whom, at the earnest solicitations of the latter, became its author. On the 1st of July, Mr. Lee's resolution was again considered, and debated during that and the following day, when it was finally adopted. The draft of the declaration was then submitted for the purpose of undergoing an examination. It was passed on the

4th of the same month, as prepared by Mr. Jefferson, with only a few alterations, which were made through a prudent deference to the views of some of the states. Mr. Adams always preferred the draft as it originally stood.

The declaration was not adopted without serious opposition from many members of the Congress, including John Dickinson, one of the ablest men in that assembly. But their arguments were completely overthrown by the eloquence of Mr. Adams, whose speech on the subject of independence is said to have been unrivalled. Mr. Jefferson himself has affirmed "that the great pillar of support to the Declaration of Independence, and its ablest advocate and champion on the floor of the house, was John Adams." Speaking of his general character as an orator, the same illustrious man observes, that he was "the Colossus of that Congress; not graceful, not elegant, not always fluent in his public addresses, he yet came out with a power both of thought and expression, that moved his hearers from their seats." Mr. Silas Deane, who was a commissioner with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Arthur Lee, at the court of Versailles, having been recalled, Mr. Adams was chosen, November 28, 1777, to fill his place. By this appointment, he was released from the laborious and important duties of chairman of the board of war, which post he had filled since June 13, 1776.

It is stated that he was a member of ninety committees, twice as many as any other representative, except Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams; he was chairman of twenty-five. Among these committees were several of the greatest consequence; one of them was that which was sent to Staten Island at the request of Lord Howe, who had solicited an interview with some of the members of Congress. The interview effected nothing, on account of the refusal of his Lordship to consider the patriots as commissioners from Congress, and the declaration made by Mr.

Adams, that "he might view him in any light he pleased, except in that of a British subject."

About two months after his appointment, Mr. Adams embarked in the Boston frigate, and arrived safely at his place of destination, though an English fleet had been despatched to intercept him. The treaties of commerce and alliance with France were signed before he reached that country, and, after remaining there until the following August, he returned to the United States, the nomination of Dr. Franklin as minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles having superseded the powers of the commissioners.

Immediately on his arrival, Mr. Adams was elected a member of the convention to prepare a form of government for the state of Massachusetts, and placed upon the subcommittee chosen to draft the project of a constitution, to be laid before that body. The general frame of the constitution, particularly the manner of dividing and distributing power, and the clause respecting the duty incumbent upon government with regard to the patronage of literature and the arts and sciences, were the work of his pen.

Three months after his return, Congress again sent him abroad with two commissions, one as minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a peace, the other to form a commercial treaty with Great Britain. He embarked in the French frigate *Sensible*, November 17, and was forced to land at Corunna, in Spain, from which place he travelled over the mountains to Paris, where he arrived in February, 1780. After remaining a short time in that city, having found the French court jealous of his commission to form a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, he repaired to Holland in August, 1780, the same year in which Congress passed a vote of approbation of his conduct, instead of recalling him, as the French minister, Count de Vergennes, had solicited

them to do, on account of his refusal to communicate to him his instructions about the treaty of commerce, and his opposition to a claim set up by France, that, when Congress called in the old continental paper money at forty for one, a discrimination ought to have been made in favour of the French holders of that paper.

The June previous to his journey to Amsterdam, Mr. Adams was appointed in the room of Laurens to obtain loans in Holland, and, in December of the same year, was invested with full powers to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with that country. Mr. Adams at first had to contend with great difficulties in Holland. He was opposed by the whole influence of the British government, as well as by the power of the Prince of Orange, and even, strange as it may appear, by the intrigues of France herself, the professed friend and avowed ally of the United States. He found the people of Holland entirely unacquainted with the affairs of his country, and immediately began to impart to them information concerning that subject, using for this purpose principally two newspapers, one called the *Leyden Gazette*, and the other *Le Politique Hollandois*, in which he wrote various political articles. He also published a series of twenty-six letters, in answer to a set of queries proposed to him by Mr. Kalkoen, an eminent jurist of Amsterdam, containing an account of the rise and progress of the dispute with Great Britain, and of the resources, spirit, and prospects of the United States. These epistles, together with some essays written by Mr. Kalkoen, drawing a comparison between the struggles of the United States for their liberty, and those formerly made by the seven United Provinces, which eventuated in their independence, had a great effect in enlightening the people of Holland, and inspired them with sentiments highly favourable to the American cause. Shortly afterwards, December 21st, 1780, a rupture took place between

England and Holland, occasioned by the accession of the latter to the armed neutrality, and the discovery of a negotiation between Mr. Lee, the American commissioner at Berlin, and Mr. Van Berckel, the pensionary of Amsterdam, for a treaty of amity and commerce. Even at this early period, he had formed an opinion decidedly in favour of the establishment of a navy, and expressed it in almost all his letters to his friends at home.

In July, 1781, Mr. Adams was summoned to Paris for the purpose of consulting upon the offer of mediation made by the courts of Austria and Russia, and suggested an answer adopted by the French court, which put an end to the negotiation on that subject; the mediating powers refusing to acknowledge the independence of the United States without the consent of Great Britain. October 19th, 1781, Mr. Adams, in opposition to the advice of the Duke de la Vauguion, the French minister at Hague, and on his own responsibility, communicated to their high mightinesses his letters of credence, presenting to the president also, at the same time, a memorial, dated April 19, in which he justified the declaration of independence, and endeavoured to convince the people of Holland that it was for their interest to form a connexion with the United States, and to give them support in their difficulties. As he had not yet been acknowledged by the States General as the minister of a sovereign and independent nation, the president could not receive the memorial in form, but he engaged to make a report of the substance of what had been communicated to him by Mr. Adams. In the August previous, Mr. Adams had received instructions to propose a triple alliance between France, the United Provinces, and the United States, to exist as long as hostilities were carried on by the latter against Great Britain, one of the indispensable conditions of which, on the part of Holland, was the recognition of American independence. The

alliance never was effected, but the latter object Mr. Adams accomplished. January 9th, 1782, not having received a reply to his memorial, he waited upon the president, and demanded a categorical answer. The States General then took the subject immediately into consideration, and Mr. Adams was acknowledged, April 19th, as ambassador of the United States to their high mightinesses, and three days afterwards was received as such.

Having obtained assurance that Great Britain would recognise the independence of the United States, Mr. Adams repaired, in October, 1782, to Paris, whither he had refused to go before such assurance was given, to commence the negotiation for peace, and there met Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, who, as well as Mr. Jefferson, had been appointed his colleagues. Their instructions, a part of which was "to undertake nothing without the knowledge and concurrence of the ministers of France, and ultimately to govern themselves by their advice and opinion," placed them almost entirely under the control of the French court. They were greatly displeased at being thus shackled, and, after a very short time, finding themselves in a very embarrassing situation, they boldly determined to disobey their instructions, and act for themselves and for their country, without consulting the ministers of a supposed treacherous ally. The definitive treaty of peace was ratified January 14, 1783. After serving on two or three other commissions to form treaties of amity and commerce with foreign powers, Mr. Adams, in 1785, was appointed the first minister to London. It is related that upon his introduction to the king, the latter, knowing his disgust at the intrigues of the French court, and wishing to compliment him, expressed his pleasure at receiving a minister, who had no prejudices in favour of France, the natural enemy of his crown. The reply of Mr. Adams evinced his patriotism and honesty of character. "May it please your majesty,"

said he, "I have no prejudices but for my own country." In 1787, whilst in London, he published his Defence of the American Constitution against the attacks which it had sustained, and in October of that year, by his own request, he was allowed to return to the United States. Congress, at the same time that they gave him such permission, passed a resolution of thanks to be presented to him for his able and faithful discharge of the various important commissions with which he had been intrusted.

Immediately after his return, Mr. Adams was elected vice-president of the United States, under the new constitution, and re-elected as such in 1792. He discharged the duties of his office until March 4th, 1797, when he succeeded to the presidency, vacated by the resignation of General Washington. This great man's confidence he possessed in an eminent degree, and was consulted by him as often as any member of the cabinet. As the two parties in the Senate were nearly balanced, Mr. Adams, while acting *ex officio*, as president of that body, had often to decide questions, by his casting vote, of the highest importance, and which had excited a great deal of party feeling. One instance of this occurred, when Mr. Clarke's resolution, prohibiting all intercourse with Great Britain on account of the capture of several American vessels by British ships, and other grievances, were brought before the Senate, after having been adopted by the House of Representatives, April 18, 1794.

Upon this bill the senators were equally divided, and Mr. Adams decided against it, thinking that it would have no good effect upon the policy of England, would injure us as much as her, and perhaps occasion a war.

When Washington expressed his determination to retire from the presidency, Mr. Adams was immediately proposed as his successor. It was generally understood that he cordially approved of the measures of Washington's ad-

ministration, and it was believed that he would maintain the same policy. The party of which Mr. Jefferson was the head, opposed his election; but he received a considerable majority of electoral votes. Mr. Jefferson was elected to the vice-presidency at the same time. Mr. Adams was inagurated on the 4th of March, 1797. His address was remarkable for force of thought and clearness of expression, and it gave general satisfaction.

The relations between France and the United States first engaged the attention of the administration. The Executive Directory, elated by their new and wondrous career of conquest, were disposed to assume towards foreign powers a tone of imperial arrogance. Mr. Pinckney, the American envoy, considered of the Federal rather than of the Gallican party, was informed that "he could not be received till existing grievances had been redressed;" and was, moreover, almost bidden to quit the country. In addition to these insults to Pinckney, Monroe, the former envoy, was addressed, at his audience to leave, in terms so vituperative as to amount almost to a declaration of war. The tone assumed was that of an appeal from the government to the people of the United States; and the minister of France in America had adopted the same tone and conduct in endeavouring to influence the late elections.

Whatever were the previous opinions of the new president, he now displayed himself as sensitive to these insults on the part of France as any of the Federals. His speech to Congress was couched in warmer and more spirited terms than even Washington would have used. The drawing up an answer to this occasioned a full fortnight's debate in the House of Representatives; but at length a reply correspondent to the president's tone and views, was carried by 51 or 52 voices against 48. This showed the balance of parties; proved that Adams still kept the ascendancy, however small, that Washington had done. Three envoys

were appointed by the president to proceed to France, and beg, if not procure, an accommodation. Pinckney, the former one, was at their head.

All important business was at a stand in America during the latter end of 1797, and beginning of 1798, owing to uncertainty of the result of this mission. On its arrival, the envoys were treated with every slight. They saw M. Talleyrand, the minister for foreign affairs, but were informed that they could not be received by the Directory. They had permission to remain in Paris, however, and the agents of M. de Talleyrand,—a female amongst others,—were employed to negotiate with them. The true difficulty in the way of accommodation, in addition to the impertinent arrogance of the Directory, seemed to be, that Merlin and others received a great part of the gains accruing from American prizes made by the French. In order to counteract this gold in one hand by gold in the other, Talleyrand demanded a *douceur* of 50,000*l.* for himself and chiefs, besides a loan to be afterwards made from America to France. To extract these conditions, every argument that ineanness could suggest was employed by Talleyrand: he demanded to be fed as a lawyer, or bribed as a friend. But the Americans were inexorable; and two of their number returned, to announce to their countrymen the terms on which peace was offered. The cupidity of the French government completely turned against it the tide of popular feeling in America. “Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute,” was instantly the general cry; and the president felt his hands strengthened by the demands of the French. Certainly, never did minister show himself less sagacious than M. de Talleyrand in this affair, or more ignorant of the spirit and manners of a nation amongst whom he had resided.

An army was now voted, consisting of twelve new regiments, with engineers and artillery corps. Washington

was declared its commander-in-chief. A naval armament, too, was decided upon, and a new department—that of the navy—erected into a ministerial office, giving a seat in the cabinet. A land tax passed Congress. An alien bill was passed for getting rid of Volney, Collot, and other French emissaries; and a sedition bill followed it, grievously complained of by the Democrats. Communication with France was prohibited, orders issued for capturing any of her vessels that appeared off the coast, and all treaties with that country were declared void. These successive steps were not taken without the opposition of a strong minority in Congress, of whom the vice-president, Jefferson, may be considered the leader.

A great part, however, of this brief animosity against France proceeded from an idea that she meant to invade America, and to interfere, under the pretext of giving her some larger share of liberty, such as she had forcibly imposed upon Switzerland. When, however, it was seen that France had no such ideas of offensive war, and when Talleyrand explained away his former arrogance by more recent declarations to Mr. Gerry, the envoy who had latest left France; and still later by overtures made through Pichon, the French *chargé d'affaires* at the Hague, to Mr. Murray; there was somewhat of a reaction. This became evident in 1799, when the weight of the additional taxes, as also of the restriction laws, had made itself felt. Several states petitioned for the repeal of the alien and sedition acts; whilst in others there was a general resistance to the officers employed on the valuation preparatory to the land tax. This last spirit showed itself chiefly in the western parts of Pennsylvania—a tract peopled in great part with Scotch and Irish emigrants, those who had formerly resisted the excise, and who had brought from their native land a strong antipathy to the tax collector.

The president had, however, anticipated this reaction in

favour of peace, by appointing Mr. Murray plenipotentiary to the French republic, with a proviso, however, that he was not to enter their territories ere assured of an honourable reception. The Directory had fallen before that took place; and the first consul, who succeeded to their power, had no mercenary interest in prolonging the state of hostility. This was accordingly put a stop to, and a final treaty of peace was signed between France and America in the course of the year 1800. The war, whilst it lasted, had merely given rise to a few encounters at sea, in which the Americans almost always captured their antagonists.

Two splendid victories were gained by Commodore Truxtun, in the frigate *Constellation*, over French frigates of superior force. On the 9th of February, 1799, Truxtun captured, after an engagement of an hour and a quarter, the frigate *l'Insurgente* of fifty-four guns. In a short time, the *Constellation* was again at sea. On the 1st of February, 1800, she fell in with the frigate *Le Vengeance*, of fifty-four guns. An action of five hours' duration ensued, at the expiration of which the guns of the French vessel were silenced; but in consequence of a sudden squall, she succeeded in making her escape. Congress voted a gold medal to the commodore for the gallantry displayed in this action.

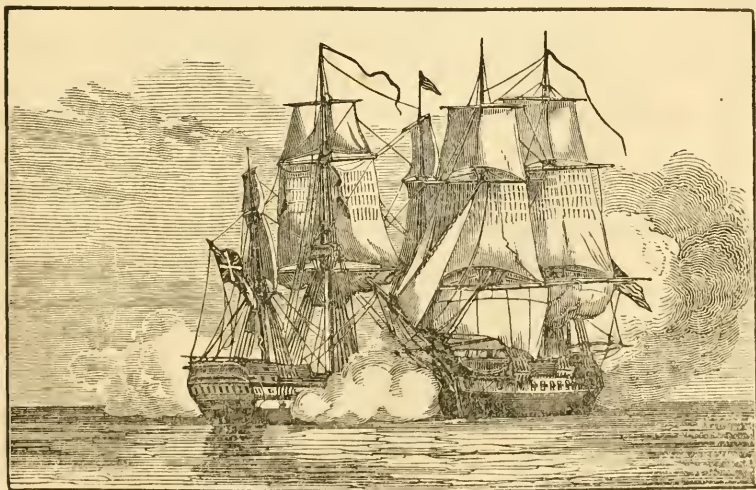
The administration of Mr. Adams was a stormy one. The president was assailed by the Democrats with the utmost bitterness, and many of the Federalists deserted him, Hamilton among the rest. But he firmly maintained his policy under all circumstances. His administration was not of long continuance, having pleased neither of the two great parties which divided the country (the greatest praise, perhaps, which it could receive), his measures being too strong for the Democrats and too weak for the Federalists. In consequence of this, after his term of four years had expired, March 4th, 1801, it was found that his antagonist, Mr. Jefferson, had succeeded by a majority of one vote. Mr. Adams

retired to his farm at Quincy, Mass., and occupied himself with agricultural pursuits, obtaining amusement from the literature and politics of the day. He was nominated as governor of Massachusetts, but declined being a candidate, wishing only for repose. During the disputes with England, which occurred while Mr. Jefferson was in office, Mr. Adams published a series of letters, in a Boston paper, supporting the policy of the administration. His published writings, besides those we have already mentioned, are "Discourses on Davila," composed in 1790, while he was vice-president, and printed in June and July of that year, in the Gazette of the United States.

In 1816, Mr. Adams was chosen a member of the electoral college, which voted for the elevation of Mr. Monroe to the presidency; and the following year sustained the greatest affliction that he had ever been called upon to endure, by the loss of his wife. On this occasion he received a beautiful letter of condolence from Mr. Jefferson, between whom and himself their former friendship, interrupted for a time by the animosities of party, had been revived. In 1820 he was elected a member of the convention to revise the constitution of Massachusetts, and chosen its president. This honour he was constrained to decline, on account of his infirmities and great age, being then 85 years old; but he attended the convention as a member, and fulfilled the duties incumbent upon him as such. After that his life glided away in uninterrupted tranquillity, until the 4th of July, 1826, when he breathed his last with the same hallowed sentiment on his lips, which on that glorious day, fifty years before, he had uttered on the floor of Congress—"Independence for ever!" On the morning of the jubilee, he was roused by the ringing of the bells and the firing of the cannon, and, on being asked by the servant who attended him, whether he knew what day it was, he replied "Oh yes! it is the glorious fourth of July—God bless it! God

bless you all!" In the course of the day, he said, "It is a great and glorious day!" and just before he expired exclaimed, "Jefferson survives." But Jefferson had already, at one o'clock, that same day, rendered his spirit into the hands of its Creator.

The character of John Adams stands out boldly in his whole career. He was an honest, generous, and high-minded man; a most immaculate patriot; a skilful diplomatist; a sound statesman and a magnificent orator. He has been censured by narrow-minded men, as monarchical in his opinions and aristocratic in his social habits. But he had a profound faith in the people, and ever eulogized our republican constitution. He merely deemed a strong executive necessary to the safety of the country in the early part of its career. Those habits which have been called aristocratic, were nothing more than we expect to find in every man of independent mind and dignified self-respect. John Adams will gain in reputation, the more his career is studied, and that causeless enmity which some persons bear to his policy will merge into admiration at his splendid qualities and patriotic services.

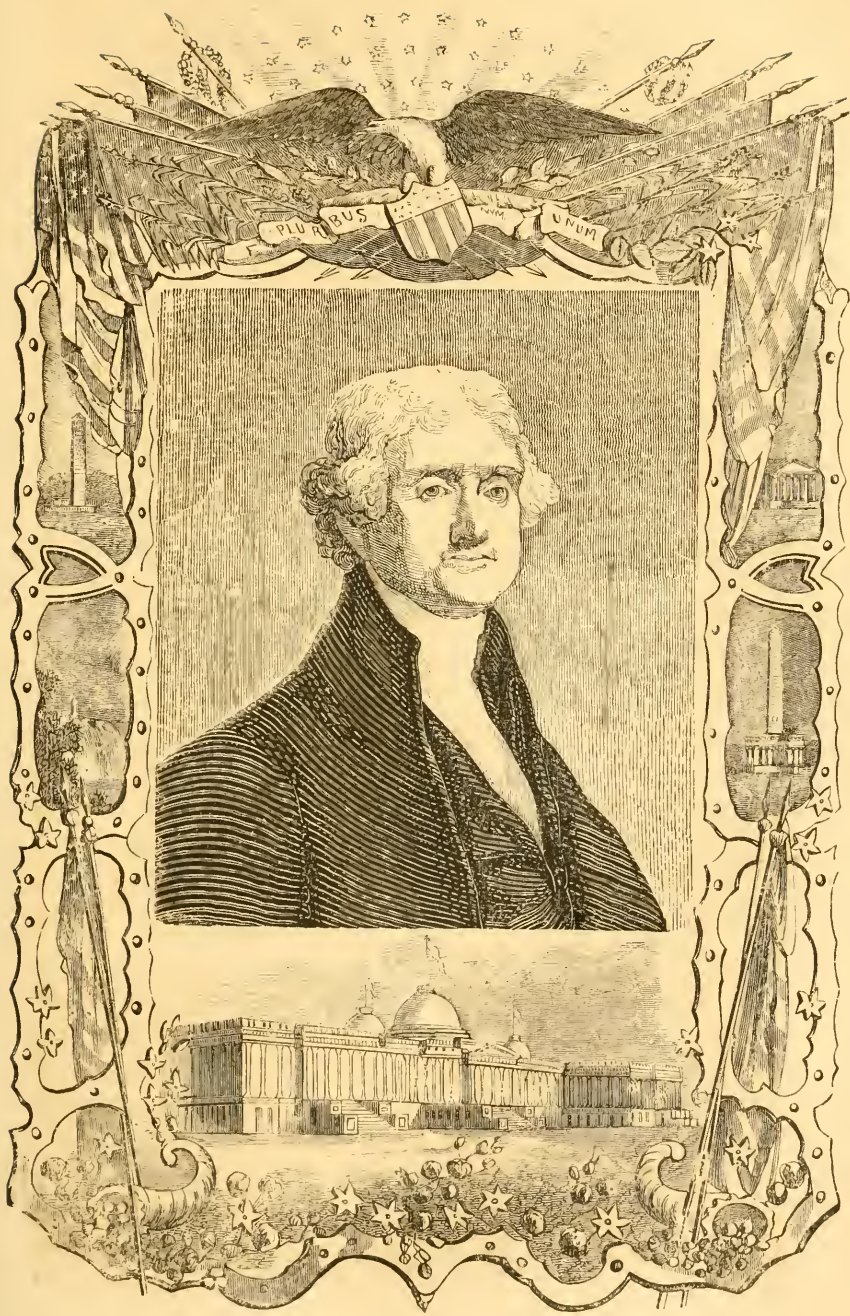


CAPTURE OF THE INSURGENT.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

No statesman or politician has exercised a greater influence upon the politics of the United States than THOMAS JEFFERSON. His principles and his practice were rigidly democratic, and though they encountered a stern and determined opposition while he was in office, parties formed subsequent to his death have disputed for the honour of bearing their standard. Historians have agreed, that he, beyond the other leading statesmen of the era in which he flourished, had a deep and abiding faith in humanity, and that he ever retained his belief in the capability of man for self-government, and firmly opposed those statesmen who were disposed to follow in the beaten path, which the monarchies and oligarchies of the old world had so long pursued. His policy triumphed over that of his opponents, and at this day parties do not take sides for or against it, but contend, like children, as to their legitimate descent from the "apostle of democracy."

Thomas Jefferson was born on the 2d of April, 1743, on the farm called Shadwell, adjoining Monticello, in the county of Albemarle, Virginia. He was the eldest son of Peter Jefferson and Jane Randolph. At the age of five, Thomas was placed at an English school, where he continued four years—at the expiration of which he was transferred to a Latin school, where he remained five years, under the tuition of Mr. Douglass, a clergyman from Scot-



land. With the rudiments of the Latin and Greek tongues he gained a knowledge of the French. When he was only fourteen, his father died, leaving him to the care of his mother, as the illustrious Washington had been left. Soon after the death of his father, Jefferson was placed under the instruction of the Rev. Mr. Maury, to complete the necessary preparation for college. He studied two years under that gentleman, and at the age of seventeen entered the college of William and Mary. "While in college," says B. L. Rayner, "he was more remarkable for solidity than sprightliness of intellect. His faculties were so even and well balanced, that no particular endowment appeared pre-eminent. His course was not marked by any of those eccentricities which often presage the rise of extraordinary genius, but by that constancy of pursuit, that inflexibility of purpose, that bold spirit of inquiry, and thirst for knowledge, which are the surer prognostics of future greatness. His habits were those of patience and severe application, which, aided by a quick and vigorous apprehension, a talent of close and logical combination, and a retentive memory, laid the foundation sufficiently broad and strong for those extensive acquisitions which he subsequently made. The mathematics were his favourite study, and in them he particularly excelled. Nevertheless, he distinguished himself in all the branches of education embraced in the established course of that college. To his devotion to philosophy and science, he united an exquisite taste for the fine arts. In those of architecture, painting, and sculpture, he made himself such an adept as to be afterwards accounted one of the best critics of the age. For music he had an uncommon passion; and his hours of relaxation were passed in exercising his skill upon the violin, for which he evinced an early and extravagant predilection. His fondness for the ancient classics strengthened continually with his strength, insomuch that it is said he scarcely

passed a day, in after life, without reading a portion of them. The same remark is applicable to his passion for the mathematics. He became so well acquainted with both the great languages of antiquity as to read them with ease, and so far perfected himself in French as to become familiar with it, which was, subsequently, of essential service to him in his diplomatic labours. He could read and speak the Italian language, and had a competent knowledge of the Spanish. He also made himself master of the Anglo-Saxon, as a root of the English, and 'an element in legal philology.'

"The acquaintances he happily formed in college probably determined the cast and direction of his ambition. These were the first characters in the whole province; among whom, he has placed on record the names of three individuals who were particularly instrumental in fixing his future destinies: viz. Dr. Small, one of the professors in college, 'who made him his daily companion;' Governor Fauquier, 'the ablest man who had ever filled that office, to whose acquaintance and familiar table' he was admitted; and George Wythe, 'his faithful and beloved mentor in youth, and his most affectionate friend through life.' "*"

In 1762 Mr. Jefferson graduated at college, and immediately applied himself to the study of the law, under the direction of Mr. Wythe. During this studious period, he had an opportunity of hearing a speech, the effect of which never faded from his mind. This was the grand oratorical effort of Patrick Henry on the resolution of 1765, against the Stamp-Act. This speech gave a direction to the ardent ambition of the future author of the Declaration of Independence. Soon afterwards, he selected for a motto on his seal, the emphatic "Resistance to Tyrants is obedience to God."

In 1767, Mr. Jefferson was inducted into the practice

of the law at the bar of the General Court, under the auspices of his preceptor and friend, Mr. Wythe. He brought with him into practice the whole body of ancient and modern jurisprudence, text and commentary, from its rudest monuments in Anglo-Saxon, to its latest depositories in the vernacular tongue, well systematized in his mind, and ready for use at a moment's warning. But his professional career was brief, and not favoured with any occasion adequate to disclose the fitness of his technical preparation, or the extent of his abilities as an advocate. The outbreking of the Revolution, which occasioned a general abandonment of the courts of justice, followed close upon his introduction to the bar; and ushered him upon a broader and more diversified theatre of action.

During the short interval he spent in his profession, he acquired considerable celebrity; but his forensic reputation was so disproportionate to his general pre-eminence, as to have occasioned the common impression, that he was deficient in the requisite qualifications for a successful practitioner at the bar. That this was not the case, however, we have the authority of a gentleman,* whose opportunities of information and well known trustworthiness are a pledge of the literal accuracy of his statement. "Permit me," says he, "to correct an error which seems to have prevailed. It has been thought that Mr. Jefferson made no figure at the bar: but the case was far otherwise. There are still extant, in his own fair and neat hand, in the manner of his master, a number of arguments which were delivered by him at the bar upon some of the most intricate questions of the law; which, if they shall ever see the light, will vindicate his claims to the first honours of the profession."

Mr. Jefferson had scarcely been admitted to the bar, when his fellow-citizens elected him to a seat in the legis-

* William Wirt.

lature, which he first occupied in May, 1769. Burning to effect something for the cause of human liberty, he, the largest slave-holder in the house, proposed a bill "for the permission of the emancipation of the slaves." Of course, the proposition was rejected by an overwhelming vote, yet Mr. Jefferson gained considerable reputation by the moral daring he had displayed.

The business of ordinary legislation was drawing to a close in Virginia. The collision between Great Britain and her colonies had arrived at a crisis which suspended the regular action of government, and summoned the attention of its functionaries to more imperious concerns. Patrick Henry, who was seven years older than Mr. Jefferson, and three or four ahead of him in public life, had hitherto been the master-spirit of the revolution at the south; and had sustained its principal brunt by his superior firmness. The time had now arrived when he was to divide the burthen and the glory of the distinction with one who was his junior only in years and eloquence, his equal in moral courage, but in everything else his superior. The session of the legislature that first saw Mr. Jefferson a member, saw him first also in the little council of the brave. The same session (1769) carried Virginia into a new mode of resistance to British tyranny, which he was chiefly instrumental in establishing—to wit, the system of non-intercourse, by which the colonies gradually dissolved all commercial connexion with the mother country.

The unequivocal attitude into which Virginia had thrown herself, by the opposition to the stamp act, which she headed in '65, was imitated with rapidity by all the other colonies; which raised the general tone of resentment to such a height, as made Great Britain herself quail before the tempest she had excited. The stamp act was repealed; but its repeal was soon followed by a series of parliamentary and executive acts, equally unconstitutional

and oppressive. Among these, were the declaratory act of a right in the British Parliament to tax the colonies in all cases; the quartering of large bodies of British soldiery in the principal towns of the colonies, at the expense and to the annoyance of the inhabitants; the dissolution, in rapid succession, of the colonial assemblies, and the total suspension of the legislative power in New York; the imposition of duties on all teas, glass, paper, and other of the most necessary articles imported into the colonies, and the appointment of commissioners, armed with excessive powers, to be stationed in the several ports for the purpose of exacting the arbitrary customs. These measures, with others of a similar character, provoked immediate retaliation in the commercial provinces.

The resolutions of the Lords and Commons arrived in America in May, 1769. The House of Burgesses of Virginia was then in session, and Mr. Jefferson was for the first time a member. These menacing papers were principally directed against the people of Massachusetts; but the doctrines avowed in them were too extraordinary to be overlooked in any assembly which contained a Jefferson. They were no sooner made known to the House, then he proposed the adoption of counter resolutions, and warmly advocated the propriety of making common cause with Massachusetts, at every hazard. Counter resolutions and an address to the King were accordingly agreed to, with little opposition; and the determination was then and there formed, *of considering the cause of any one colony as a common one.*

The seed of the *American Union* was here first sown. By the resolutions which they passed, the legislature reasserted the exclusive right of the colonies to tax themselves in all cases whatsoever; denounced the recent acts of Parliament, as flagrant violations of the British Constitution; and sternly remonstrated against the assumed right

to transport the freeborn citizens of America to England, to be tried by their enemies. The tone of these resolutions was so strong as to excite for the first time the displeasure of the governor, the amiable Lord Bottetourt. The House had scarcely adopted and ordered them to be entered upon their journals, when they were summoned to his presence, to receive the sentence of dissolution. "Mr. Speaker," said he, "and gentlemen of the House of Representatives, I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects; you have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are accordingly dissolved."

But the interference of the executive had no effect but to encourage the holy feeling it attempted to repress. The next day, led on by Jefferson, Henry, and the two Lees, the great body of the members retired to a room, called the Apollo, in the Raleigh tavern, the principal hotel in Williamsburg. They there formed themselves into a voluntary convention, drew up articles of association against the use of any merchandise imported from Great Britain, signed, and recommended them to the people. They repaired to their several counties, circulated the articles of the league among their constituents, and to the astonishment of all, so popular was the measure that at the call of another legislature they were themselves re-elected without an exception.

The dissolution of the House of Burgesses was not attended with any change in the popular representation; except in the very few instances of those who had withheld their assent from the patriotic proceedings. The next meeting of the legislature of any permanent interest, which was not until the spring of 1773, saw Mr. Jefferson again at his post, intent upon the business of substituting just principles of government for those which prevailed.

A court of inquiry, held in Rhode Island as far back as

1762, in which was vested the extraordinary power to transport persons to England, to be tried for offences committed in America, was considered by him as demanding attention, even after so long an interval of silence. He was not in public life at the time this proceeding was instituted, and consequently had not the power to raise his voice against it; but when an important principle was violated, he deemed it never too late to rally. Acquiescence in such an encroachment, would give it the force of precedent, and precedent would soon establish the right. An investigation and protest, too, would rouse the apprehensions of the colonists, which had already relapsed into repose. This appeared to him a more desirable result, than the simple assertion of right in that particular case. No unusual excitement having occurred during the protracted interval of legislative interruption, the people had fallen into a state of insensibility; and yet the same causes of irritation existed, that had recently thrown them into such ferment. The duty on tea, with a multitude of co-existing incumbrances, still pressed upon them; and the Declaratory Act of a right in the British Parliament to bind them by their laws in all cases, was still suspended over them hanging by the thread of ministerial caprice. The lethargy of the public mind, under such injustice, indicated to Mr. Jefferson a fearful state of things. It presented to his eye a degree of moral prostration, but one remove from that which constitutes the proper element for despotism, and invites its visitations. It appeared to him indispensable that something should be done to break the dead calm which rested on the colonies, and to rouse the people to a sense of their situation. Something, moreover, had been wanting to produce concert of action, and a mutual understanding between the colonies.

These objects could only be accomplished, he thought,

by the rapid dissemination of the earliest intelligence of events, with proper comments. This would keep the excitement alive and spread discontents, many of which were local, from colony to colony. With a view, therefore, to these important objects, and not thinking the old and leading members had gained the requisite point of forwardness, he proposed to a few of the younger ones, a private meeting in the evening, "to consult on the state of things." On the evening of the 11th of March, 1773, we find this little band of Virginia patriots, Jefferson, Henry, R. H. Lee, F. L. Lee, and Dabney Carr, assembled in a private room of the Raleigh tavern, to deliberate on the concerns of all British America. This conclave, at the Raleigh tavern in Williamsburg, had the merit of erecting the most formidable engine of colonial resistance that had been devised—the "*Committees of Correspondence*" between the legislatures of the different colonies: and the first offspring of this measure was a movement of inconceivable consequence, not only to America, but to the world—the call of a *general Congress of all the colonies*.*

On the 12th of March, 1773, Mr. Jefferson was chosen a member of the first committee of correspondence established by the colonial legislatures, the act already alluded to, as the most important of the revolution in preparing the way for that union of sentiment and action from whence arose the first effective resistance, and on which depended the successful progress and final triumph of the cause.

The year 1774 found Mr. Jefferson still actively engaged in his duties as a member of the legislature of Virginia. The passage by Parliament of the Boston Port Bill, by which that port was to be shut up on the 1st of June, 1774, was the next event which aroused the indignation and excited the sympathies of the House. It arrived while they were in session in the spring of 1774. It was at this

* Rayner.

crisis that Mr. Jefferson wrote, and the members, though not then adopting as resolutions, afterwards published his "Summary View of the Rights of British America;" and in which he maintained what was then thought by many a bold position, but which he considered as the only orthodox and tenable one: that the relation between Great Britain and the colonies was exactly the same as that of England and Scotland, after the accession of James, and until the union, and the same as her present relation with Hanover, having the same executive chief, but no other necessary political connexion; and that our emigration from England to this country gave her no more rights over us than the emigration of the Danes and Saxons gave to the authorities of the mother country over England.

In these sentiments, however, bold as they were, his political associates joined with him; they considered those acts of oppression directed against the colonies of New England, acts in which all were concerned, and an attack on the liberties and immunities of every other province. They accordingly resolved, that the 1st day of June, the day on which the Boston Port Bill was to go into operation, should be set apart by the members as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, "devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamities which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of a civil war; and to give them one heart and one mind, to oppose by all just and proper means every injury to American rights."

Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of the province, could not be otherwise than highly exasperated at such proceedings. Mr. Jefferson, who had boldly avowed himself the author of the obnoxious pamphlet, was threatened with a prosecution by him for high treason; and the House of Burgesses was immediately dissolved after their daring publication. Notwithstanding these measures, the members

met in their private capacities, and mutually signed a spirited publication, setting forth the unjust conduct of the governor, who had left them this, their only method, to point out to their countrymen the measures they deemed the best calculated to secure their liberties from destruction by the arbitrary hand of power. They told them that they could no longer resist the conviction, that a determined system had been formed to reduce the inhabitants of British America to slavery, by subjecting them to taxation without their consent, by closing the port of Boston, and raising a revenue on tea. They therefore strongly recommended a closer alliance with the sister colonies, the formation of committees of correspondence, and the annual meeting of a general Congress; and earnestly hoping that a persistence in these principles would not compel them to adopt measures of a more decisive character.

The pamphlet having found its way to England, it was taken up by the opposition, and, with a few interpolations by the celebrated Edmund Burke, passed through several editions. It procured for its author considerable reputation, and likewise the dangerous honour of having his name placed on a list of proscriptions in a bill of attainder, which was commenced in one of the houses of Parliament, but was speedily suppressed. In the same bill the names of Hancock, the two Adamses, Peyton Randolph, and Patrick Henry, were inserted.

The year 1775, destined to be so eventful for America, opened with some attempts of the British ministry to effect a reconciliation. But such rigorous measures followed that the colonies were exasperated. Lord North perceived this, and brought forward the project of a law, purporting that when in any province or colony, the Governor, Council, Assembly, or General Court, should propose to make provisions according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and faculties, for contributing their proportion to the

common defence; such proportion to be raised under the authorities of the General Court or Assembly in each province or colony, and disposable by Parliament; and should engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony; it would be proper, if such proposal should be approved by the king in his Parliament, and for so long as such provision should be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to impose any duties, taxes, or assessments, except only such as might be thought necessary for the regulation of commerce.

On the 1st of June, 1775, this resolution was presented by Lord Dunmore, the governor, to the legislature of Virginia; and Mr. Jefferson was selected by the committee, to whom it was referred, to frame the reply. This was done with so much force of argument, enlarged patriotism, and sound political discretion, that it will ever be considered as a document of the highest order. It concludes in these words:

“ These, my Lord, are our sentiments on this important subject, which we offer only as an individual part of the whole empire. Final determination we leave to the General Congress now sitting, before whom we shall lay the papers your Lordship has communicated to us. For ourselves, we have exhausted every mode of application which our invention could suggest as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with Parliament: they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our king with supplications: he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed to the native honour and justice of the British nation: their efforts in our favour have hitherto been ineffectual. What, then, remains to be done? That we commit our injuries to the even-handed justice of that Being who doth no wrong, earnestly beseeching him to illuminate the councils, and prosper the endeavours of those to whom

America hath confided her hopes; that, through their wise directions, we may again see reunited the blessings of liberty, prosperity, and harmony with Great Britain."

When this address had been passed, Mr. Jefferson immediately proceeded to Congress, which was then in session, and gave them the first notice they had of it. It was highly approved of by them. He had been elected on the 27th of March, 1775, one of the members to represent Virginia in the General Congress already assembled at Philadelphia, but had delayed his departure until now at the request of Mr. Randolph, who was fearful the drafting of the address alluded to would, in his absence, have fallen into feebler hands. An elegant biographer asserts: "When about to leave the colony, a circumstance is stated to have occurred to him, and to Mr. Harrison and Mr. Lee, his fellow-delegates, that conveyed a noble mark of the unbounded confidence which their constituents reposed in their integrity and virtue. A portion of the inhabitants, who, far removed from the scenes of actual tyranny which were acted in New England, and pursuing uninterruptedly their ordinary pursuits, could form no idea of the slavery impending over them, waited on their three representatives, just before their departure, and addressed them in the following terms:

"You assert that there is a fixed design to invade our rights and privileges; we own that we do not see this clearly, but since you assure us that it is so, we believe the fact. We are about to take a very dangerous step; but we confide in you, and are ready to support you in every measure you shall think proper to adopt." On the 21st of June, 1775, Mr. Jefferson appeared, and took his seat in the Continental Congress. In this new capacity he persevered in the decided tone which he had assumed, always maintaining that no accommodation should be made between the two countries, unless on the broadest and most liberal

principles ; and here, as elsewhere, he soon rendered himself conspicuous among the distinguished men of the day. On the 24th of the same month, a committee which had been appointed to prepare a declaration setting forth the causes and necessity of resorting to arms, brought in their report (drawn up, as it was believed, by J. Rutledge), which, not being approved of, the house recommitted it, and added Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Jefferson to the committee.

Mr. Jefferson prepared the draft of the declaration committed to them. It was drawn with singular ability, and exhibited his usual firmness and discretion ; but it was considered as too decided by Mr. Dickinson. He still nourished the hope of a reconciliation with Great Britain, and was unwilling it should be lessened by what he considered as offensive statements. He was so honest a man, says Mr. Jefferson, and so able a one, that he was greatly indulged even by those who could not feel his scruples. He was therefore requested to take the paper and put it in a form he could approve. He did so, preparing an entire new statement, and preserving of the former only the last four paragraphs and half of the preceding one. The committee approved and reported it to Congress, who accepted it. Congress, continues Mr. Jefferson, gave a signal proof of their indulgence to Mr. Dickinson, and of their great desire not to go too fast for any respectable part of their body in permitting him to draw their second petition to the king, according to his own ideas, and passing it with scarcely any amendment. The disgust against its humility was general ; and Mr. Dickinson's delight at its passage, was the only circumstance which reconciled them to it. The vote being passed, although further observation on it was out of order, he could not refrain from rising and expressing his satisfaction, and concluded by saying, "There is but one word, Mr. President, in the paper, which I disapprove, and that is the word *Congress*," on which Mr. B. Har-

rison rose and replied, "There is but one word in the paper, Mr. President, of which I approve, and that is the word *Congress*."

Lord North's conciliatory resolution coming before the house, Mr. Jefferson, as one of the committee, was requested to prepare the report on the same. The answer of the Virginia Assembly on the same subject having been approved, will account for any similarity between the two reports, they both having proceeded from the same hand.

On the 11th of August, Mr. Jefferson was again elected a delegate from Virginia, to the third Congress. Though constantly and actively engaged during the winter in the various matters which engaged the attention of the house, yet he seems rather to have devoted himself to objects of general policy, the arrangement of general plans and systems of action, the investigation of important documents, and objects of a similar nature, than to the details of active business, for which other members could probably be found equally well qualified.

The year 1776 set in eventfully. While the army of Washington was suffering every hardship and privation in the cause of freedom, the people discussed the question of independence, and it was soon apparent that a majority were disposed to throw off all connexion with Great Britain.

On the 28th of May, upon motion of Mr. Jefferson, Congress resolved "that an *animated* address be published, to impress the minds of the people with the necessity of now stepping forward to save their country, their freedom, and their property." Being appointed chairman of the committee upon this resolution, he prepared the address; and an *animated* one it was; conceived in his happiest manner, with a power of expression and of argument which carried conviction and courage to the breast of every man.

This was another ingenious stroke of policy, designed to prepare the popular mind for a favourable reception of the momentous decision in reserve.

The delegates from Virginia received their instructions early in June, and immediately held a conference to devise suitable means for their due execution. Richard H. Lee, being the oldest in the delegation, and endowed with extraordinary powers of eloquence, was designated to make the introductory motion, and the 7th of June was ordered as the day. Accordingly, on that day he rose from his seat and moved that Congress should declare "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent States*; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; that measures should be immediately taken for procuring the assistance of foreign powers, and a *Confederation* be formed to bind the colonies more closely together." The House being obliged to attend at that time to some other business, the proposition was deferred till the next day, when the members were ordered to attend punctually at ten o'clock.

Saturday, June 8th, Congress proceeded to take the subject into consideration, and referred it to a committee of the whole, into which they immediately resolved themselves, and passed that day and Monday, the 10th, in warm and vehement debates.

The conflict was painful. The grounds of opposition to the measure affected its expediency as to time, rather than its absolute propriety, and were strenuously urged by Dickinson and Wilson of Pennsylvania, Robert R. Livingston of New York, Edward Rutledge of South Carolina, and some others. The leading advocates of the immediate declaration of independence were Mr. Jefferson, John and Samuel Adams, Lee, Wythe, and some others. The heads

only of the arguments delivered on this interesting occasion have been preserved—by one man alone, Mr. Jefferson, and they owe their first disclosure to the world, to his posthumous publication.*

The tenor of the debate indicated such a strength of opposition to the measure, that it was deemed impolitic to press it at this time. The colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but, as they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait awhile for them. The final decision of the question was therefore postponed to the 1st of July. But, that this might occasion as little delay as possible, it was ordered that a committee be appointed to prepare a DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, in accordance with the motion. Mr. Jefferson having the highest number of votes, was placed at the head of this committee; the other members were John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. The committee met, and unanimously solicited Mr. Jefferson to prepare the draft of the Declaration alone. He drew it; but before submitting it to the committee, he communicated it separately to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, with a view to avail himself of the benefit of their criticisms. They criticised it, and suggested two or three alterations, merely verbal, intended to soften somewhat the original phraseology. The committee unanimously approved it; and on Friday, the 28th of June, he reported it to Congress, when it was read and ordered to lie on the table.

On Monday the 1st of July, agreeably to assignment, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and resumed the consideration of the preliminary motion. It was debated again through the day, and finally carried

* See Vol. I., Jefferson's Works.

in the affirmative by the votes of New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. South Carolina and Pennsylvania voted against it. Delaware had but two members present, and they were divided. The delegates from New York declared they were for it themselves, and were assured their constituents were for it; but that their instructions having been drawn near a twelvemonth before, when reconciliation was still the general object, they were enjoined by them to do nothing which should impede that object. They therefore thought themselves not justifiable in voting on either side, and asked leave to withdraw from the question; which was granted them. In this state of things, the committee rose and reported their resolution to the House. Mr. Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, then requested that the decision might be put off to the next day, as he believed his colleagues, though they disapproved of the resolution, would then join in it for the sake of unanimity. The ultimate decision by the House was accordingly postponed to the next day, July 2d, when it was again moved, and South Carolina concurred in voting for it. In the mean time, a third member had come post from the Delaware counties, and turned the vote of that colony in favour of the resolution. Members of a different sentiment attending that morning from Pennsylvania, her vote also was changed; so that the whole twelve colonies, who were authorized to vote at all, gave their voice for it; and within a few days, July 9th, the Convention of New York approved of it, and thus supplied the void occasioned by the withdrawal of her delegates from the question. It should be observed that these fluctuations and the final vote were upon the *original motion*, to declare the colonies independent.

Congress proceeded the same day, July 2d, to consider

the *Declaration of Independence*, which had been reported the 28th of June, and ordered to lie on the table. The debates were again renewed with great violence—greater than before. Tremendous was the ordeal through which the title-deed of our liberties, perfect as it had issued from the hands of its artificer, was destined to pass. Inch by inch was its progress through the House disputed. Every dictum of peculiar political force, and almost every expression, was made a subject of acrimonious animadversion by the anti-revolutionists. On the other hand, the champions of independence contended with the constancy of martyrs, for every tenet and every word of the precious gospel of their faith. Among the latter class, the author of the Declaration himself has assigned to John Adams the station of pre-eminence.

The debates were continued with unremitting heat through the 2d, 3d, and 4th days of July, till on the evening of the last, the most important day perhaps politically speaking, that the world ever saw—they were brought to a close. The principle of unanimity finally prevailed; reciprocal concessions, sufficient to unite all on the solid ground of the main purpose, were made. In the generous spirit of compromise, however, some of the most splendid specifications in the American Charter were surrendered. On some of these it is well known the author himself set the highest value, as recognising principles to which he was enthusiastically partial, and which were almost peculiar to him.

For the purpose of comparing the original with the amended form, the Declaration shall be presented as it came from the hands of the author. The parts stricken out by Congress are printed in *italics*, and enclosed in brackets; and those inserted by them are placed in the margin. The sentiments of men are known by what they reject, as well as by what they receive, and the comparison in the present

case, will demonstrate the singular forwardness of one mind on certain great principles of political science.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with [*inherent and*] inalienable certain rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of a people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations [*begun at*

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all having
a distinguished period and] pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to [*expunge*] their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of [*unremitting*] injuries and usurpations, [*among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, but all have*] in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world [*for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.*]

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative Houses re-

peatedly [*and continually*] for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has [*suffered*] the administration of justice obstructed [*totally to cease in some of these States*] refusing his by assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made [*our*] judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices [*by a self-assumed power*] and sent hither swarms of new officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies [*and ships of war*] without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering

in many
cases

colonies

by declaring
us out of his
protection
and waging
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us

scarcely par-
alleled in the
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ous ages and
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large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us [] of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences; for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these [*states*]; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments; for suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here [*withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance and protection.*]

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy [] unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has [] endeavoured to bring on the in-
habitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian
savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undis-
tinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and con-
ditions [*of existence.*]

[He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation of our property.

He has urged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.]

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries.

A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a [] people [*who mean to be free.* free

Future ages will scarcely believe that the hardness of one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation so broad and so undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in principles of freedom.]

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Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend [a] jurisdiction over [*these our states.*] We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here [*no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were effected at the expense of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them: but that submission to their Parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited: and,*] we [] appealed to their native justice and

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magnanimity [*as well as to*] the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which [*were likely to*] interrupt our connexion and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity, [*and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have, by their free election, re-established them in power. At this very time, too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to*

agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce for ever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavour to forget our former love for them, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends. We might have been a free and a great people together ; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too.

We will tread it apart from them, and [acquiesce] *We must therefore*
in the necessity which denounces our [eternal]
separation []!

and hold
them as we
hold the rest
of mankind,
enemies in
war, in peace
friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of
the United States of America in General
Congress assembled, [] do in the name,
and by the authority of the good people
of these [states, reject and renounce all
allegiance and subjection to the kings of
Great Britain and all others who may
hereafter claim by, through, or under
them ; we utterly dissolve all political con-
nexion which may heretofore have sub-
sisted between us and the people or Par-
liament of Great Britain : and finally
we do assert and declare these colonies to
be free and independent states,] and that
as free and independent states, they have
full power to levy war, conclude peace,
contract alliances, establish commerce,
and do all other acts and things which
independent states may of right do.

appealing to the supreme
Judge of the world for
the rectitude of our in-
tentions

colonies, solemnly pub-
lish and declare, that
these united colonies are
and of right ought to
be free and independent
states ; that they are ab-
solved from all allegiance
to the British crown, and
that all political connex-
ion between them and the
state of Great Britain is,
and ought to be, totally
dissolved.

And for the support of this declara-

with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, tion, [] we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

The Declaration thus amended in committee of the whole, was reported to the House on the 4th of July, agreed to, and signed by every member present except Mr. Dickinson. On the 19th of July it was ordered to be engrossed on parchment; and on the 2d of August, the engrossed copy, after being compared at the table with the original, was ordered to be signed by every member.

On the same day that independence was declared, Mr. Jefferson was appointed one of a committee of three, to devise an appropriate coat of arms for the republic of the "United States of America."

The Declaration was received by the people with unbounded admiration and joy. On the 8th of July it was promulgated with great solemnity, at Philadelphia, and saluted by the assembled multitude with peals on peals of acclamation. On the 11th it was published in New York, and proclaimed before the American army, then assembled in the vicinity, with all the pomp and circumstance of a military pageant. It was received with exultation by the collected chivalry of the revolution. They filled the air with their shouts, and shook the earth with the thunders of their artillery. In Boston, the popular transports were unparalleled. The national manifesto was proclaimed from the balcony of the Capitol, in the presence of all the authorities, civil and military, and of an innumerable concourse of people. An immense banquet was prepared, at which the authorities and all the principal citizens attended, and drank toasts expressive of enthusiastic veneration for liberty, and of detestation of tyrants. The rejoicings were continued through the night, and every ensign of royalty that adorned either the public or private edifice, was demolished before morning. Similar demonstrations of patriotic en-

thusiasm attended the reception of the Declaration in all the cities and chief towns of the continent.*

Mr. Jefferson gained the highest praises for the authorship of the glorious Declaration, and we are justified in the opinion that it will remain a permanent monument of his genius and love of liberty. While he lived, it was the corner-stone of his fame; and dying, he requested that the honour of its authorship should be inscribed upon his tomb.

The term for which Mr. Jefferson had been elected to Congress expired on the 11th of August, 1776; and he had communicated to the Convention of Virginia, in June preceding, his intention to decline a re-appointment. But his excuses were overruled by that body, and he was unanimously re-elected. On receiving intelligence of the result, gratifying as it evidently was, he addressed a second letter to the chairman of the Convention, in which he adhered to his original resolution.

He continued in Congress until the 2d of September following, when his successor having arrived, he resigned his seat and returned to Virginia.

Thus closed the extraordinary career of Mr. Jefferson in the Continental Congress. His actual attendance in that renowned legislature had been only about nine months; and yet he had succeeded in impressing his character, in distinct and legible traces, upon the whole. The result is remarkable when considered in connexion with his immature age. He had at this time attained only his thirty-third year, and was the youngest man but one in the session of 1776.

Mr. Jefferson had been absent from Philadelphia but a few days when he was appointed a commissioner to France with Dr. Franklin, an extraordinary evidence of the confidence Congress had in his ability and patriotism. But this

* Rayner.

appointment was declined for the same reason that had induced Mr. Jefferson to resign his seat in the national Assembly. But he had scarcely returned to Virginia before he was elected to a seat in the legislature of Virginia. This post he thought proper to accept, as he desired to effect many important reforms in the constitution and laws of his native state. By bringing about the abolition of the law of entail, he struck a fatal blow at the existence of a landed aristocracy, and by proposing new organizations of the legislative and judiciary branches of government, he secured a full and harmonious action in state affairs. At this time the influence of Mr. Jefferson was deeply felt in Virginia, and he left the impress of his creative genius on all her institutions. He laboured for the abolition of slavery, but was not successful, further than in securing the suppression of the commerce in slaves. He succeeded in establishing the broadest religious freedom by laws which have been imitated in almost every state in the Union.

But it was not to the revision of the laws of his state, or other laborious public duties, that Mr. Jefferson entirely devoted himself. He at this time, in a noble manner, displayed the sternness of his justice, the purity of his heart, and the softness of his feelings, by deprecating all cruelty to a fallen foe, and by extending a hand of charity to the foiled ravagers of his country. His sympathies were excited by proposed wrong to the unfortunate, and he gave his indignant, powerful, and successful pen to their assistance.

Congress, it will be recollected, had resolved to retain in America the troops who had surrendered at Saratoga, until the terms of capitulation which had been entered into by the British general, were duly ratified by and obtained from, his government. Until this was done and received, it was thought expedient to remove them into the inte-

rior of the country : and the neighbourhood of Charlottesville, in Virginia, was selected as the place of their residence.

“There they arrived early in the year 1779. The winter was uncommonly severe ; the barracks unfinished for want of labourers ; no sufficient stores of bread laid in ; and the roads rendered impassable by the inclemency of the weather and the number of wagons which had lately traversed them.” Mr. Jefferson, aided by Mr. Hawkins, the commissary-general, and the benevolent disposition of his fellow-citizens, adopted every plan to alleviate the distresses of the troops, and to soften, as much as possible, the hardships of captivity. Their efforts were attended with success. The officers who were able to command money rented houses and small farms in the neighbourhood, while the soldiers enlarged the barracks and improved their accommodations, so as in a short time to form a little community, flourishing and happy. These arrangements had scarcely been completed, when, in consequence of a power lodged in them by Congress, the governor and council of Virginia determined to remove the prisoners to another state, or to another part of the same state. This intention was heard by the captives with distress. Mr. Jefferson immediately addressed a letter to Governor Henry, in which he stated the impolicy, impropriety, and cruelty of such a measure.

The eloquent appeal was entirely successful ; nor was it ever forgotten by those unfortunate captives from whom it averted tyranny, and for whose security and comfort it was penned. They duly appreciated his kindness and generosity, and their attachment and gratitude were lasting ; and in his subsequent travels through Europe, when chance again threw him in their society, they loaded him with civility and kindness, and spoke to their countrymen in warm terms of the hospitality of Virginia. When about to leave Char-

lottesville, the principal officers wrote to him, to renew their thanks, and to bid him adieu: the answer of Mr. Jefferson to one of them has been preserved. "The little attentions," he says, "you are pleased to magnify so much, never deserved a mention or a thought. Opposed as we happen to be in our sentiments of duty and honour, and anxious for contrary events, I shall, nevertheless, sincerely rejoice in every circumstance of happiness and safety which may attend you personally."

On the 1st of June, 1779, Mr. Jefferson was appointed governor of Virginia, which office he held during two years. He distinguished himself in this position by so far intimidating the British governor of Detroit, that that personage ceased to instigate savage atrocities upon the frontier.

In the spring of 1780, when Cornwallis and Tarleton began to ravage the southern border of Virginia, the governor exerted himself to aid the small force of the Americans, and restrain the enemy. Although he had never devoted much attention to military matters, his promptitude and energy supplied all deficiencies of knowledge, and enabled him to oppose some checks to the progress of the enemy.

On the 2d of June, 1781, the term for which Mr. Jefferson had been elected, expired, and he returned to the situation of a private citizen, after having conducted the affairs of his state through a period of difficulty and danger, without any parallel in its proceeding or subsequent history, and with a prudence and energy that might have gained him more fame, had the times been less unpropitious, but which, from that very reason, have been, and will be, more appreciated and honoured in succeeding times. "I resigned," says he, "from a belief that, under the pressure of the invasion under which we were then labouring, the public would have more confidence in a military chief, and that,

the military commander being invested with the civil power also, both might be wielded with more energy, promptitude, and effect, for the defence of the state."

Two days after his retirement from the government, and when on his estate at Monticello, intelligence was suddenly brought that Tartleton, at the head of two hundred and fifty horse, had left the main army for the purpose of surprising and capturing the members of Assembly at Charlottesville. The House had just met, and was about to commence business, when the alarm was given; they had scarcely taken time to adjourn informally to meet at Staunton on the 7th, when the enemy entered the village, in the confident expectation of an easy prey. The escape was indeed narrow, but no one was taken. In pursuing the legislature, however, the governor was not forgotten; a troop of horse under a Captain M'Leod had been despatched to Monticello, fortunately with no better success. The intelligence received at Charlottesville was soon conveyed thither, the distance between the two places being very short. Mr. Jefferson immediately ordered a carriage to be in readiness to carry off his family, who, however, breakfasted at leisure with some guests. Soon after breakfast, and when the visitors had left the house, a neighbour rode up in full speed, with the intelligence that a troop of horse was then ascending the hill. Mr. Jefferson now sent off his family, and after a short delay for some indispensable arrangements, mounted his horse, and taking a course through the woods, joined them at the house of a friend, where they dined.

On the 15th of June, 1781, Mr. Jefferson was appointed, with Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, a minister plenipotentiary for negotiating peace, then expected to be effected through the mediation of the Empress of Russia; but such was the state of his family, that he could neither leave it nor expose it to the dangers of the

sea, and was consequently obliged to decline. In the autumn of the next year, Congress having received assurances that a general peace would be concluded in the winter and spring, renewed his appointment on the 13th November of that year. Two months before the last appointment, he had lost the cherished companion of his life, in whose affections, unabated on both sides, he had lived the last ten years in unchequered happiness. With the public interests, the state of his mind concurred in recommending the change of scene proposed; he accordingly accepted the appointment, and left Monticello on the 19th of December, 1782, for Philadelphia, where he arrived on the 27th. The minister of France, Luzerne, offered him a passage in the *Romulus* frigate, and which was accepted; but she was then lying a few miles below Baltimore, blocked up in the ice. Mr. Jefferson remained, therefore, a month in Philadelphia, looking over the papers in the office of state, and possessing himself of the general situation of our foreign relations, and then went to Baltimore, to await the liberation of the frigate from the ice. After waiting there nearly a month, information was received, that a provisional treaty of peace had been signed by our commissioners on the 3d of September, 1782, to become absolute on the conclusion of peace between France and Great Britain. Considering his proceeding to Europe as now of no utility to the public, he returned immediately to Philadelphia, to take the orders of Congress, and was excused by them from further proceeding. He therefore returned home, and arrived there on the 15th of May, 1783.

On the 6th of June, 1783, Mr. Jefferson was again elected a delegate to Congress, the appointment to take place on the first of November ensuing, when that of the existing delegation would expire. He accordingly left home on the 16th of October, arrived at Trenton, where Congress was sitting, on the 3d November, and took his seat on the 4th,

on which day Congress adjourned, to meet at Annapolis on the 26th.

“Congress,” says he, “had now become a very small body, and the members very remiss in their attendance on its duties, insomuch that a majority of the states, necessary by the Confederation to constitute a house, even for minor business, did not assemble until the 13th of December.”

In this body, Mr. Jefferson, as was to be expected, took a prominent station, and became, at once, engaged in all the principal measures that occupied the public attention. Among other services rendered by him, was that of establishing a standard of value for the country, and the adoption of a money unit.

Early in December, letters were received from the commissioners in France, accompanied with the definitive treaty between the United States and Great Britain, which had been signed at Paris on the 3d of September. They were immediately referred to a committee, of which Mr. Jefferson was chairman. On the 14th of January, 1784, on the report of this committee, the treaty was unanimously ratified, thus putting an end to the eventful struggle between the two countries, and confirming the independence which had already been gained.

About this period an opportunity was offered to Mr. Jefferson, of expressing again, as he had already so frequently done, his earnest desire to provide for the emancipation of the negroes, and the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. Being appointed chairman of a committee to which was assigned the task of forming a plan for the temporary government of the Western Territory, he introduced into it the following clause: “That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty.” When

the report of the committee was presented to Congress, these words were, however, struck out.

On the 7th of May, Congress resolved that a minister plenipotentiary should be appointed, in addition to Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin, for negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations, and Mr. Jefferson was elected to that duty. He accordingly left Annapolis on the 11th, taking with him his eldest daughter, then at Philadelphia, and proceeded to Boston in quest of a passage. While passing through the different states, he informed himself of the condition of the commerce of each, went on to New Hampshire with the same view, and returned to Boston. Thence he sailed on the 5th of July in a merchant ship bound to Cowes; which, after a pleasant voyage of nineteen days, reached the place of her destination on the 26th. After being detained there a few days by the indisposition of his daughter, he embarked on the 30th for Havre, arrived there on the 31st, left it on the third of August, and arrived at Paris on the 6th. He called immediately on Dr. Franklin, at Passy, communicated to him their charge, and wrote to Mr. Adams, then at the Hague, to join them at Paris.*

In the mean time, Mr. Jefferson had prepared his famous "Notes on Virginia," a work distinguished for extent of information, and an elegant simplicity of style. It was written at the request of M. Marbois, a Frenchman of distinction.

Since the treaty of peace, the English government had been particularly distant and unaccommodating in its relations with the United States; but at one period of Mr. Jefferson's residence abroad, it was supposed that there were some symptoms of better disposition shown towards us. On this account he left Paris, and on his arrival at London, agreed with Mr. Adams on a very summary form of treaty, proposing "an exchange of citizenship for our citizens, our ships, and our productions generally, except as

* Linn.

to office." At the usual presentation, however, to the king and queen, both Mr. Adams and himself were received in the most ungracious manner, and they at once discovered, that the ulcerations of mind in that quarter, left nothing to be expected on the particular subject of the visit. A few vague and ineffectual conferences followed, after which he returned to Paris. He did not, however, cease to keep a watchful eye on the proceedings and conduct of the British nation, and his letters to the department of foreign affairs contain many facts in regard to it, and many instances of the jealous and unfriendly feeling which sprung from and long survived the misfortunes of her colonial conflict.

The commissioners succeeded in their negotiations only with the governments of Morocco and Prussia. The treaty with the latter power is so remarkable for some of the provisions it contains, that it stands solitary in diplomacy and national law. Blockades arising from all causes, and of every description, were abolished by it; the flag, in every case, covered the property, and contrabands were exempted from confiscation, though they might be employed for the use of the captor, on payment of their full value. This, it is said, is the only convention ever made by America in which the last stipulation is introduced, nor is it known to exist in any other modern treaty.

On the 10th of March, 1785, Mr. Jefferson was unanimously appointed by Congress to succeed Dr. Franklin as minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles; and on the expiration of his commission in October, 1787, he was again elected to the same honourable situation. He remained in France until October, 1789.

While in France, Mr. Jefferson was engaged in many diplomatic negotiations of considerable importance to America, though not of sufficient interest to arrest the attention of the general reader. The great questions which had so

long occupied the public mind, were fitted to arrest the attention of the most thoughtless, affecting as they did the policy of nations and the fate of empires; but the details which arise out of the interpretation of treaties, or the measures which are necessary to increase their effect, and to remedy their deficiencies, are interesting only to him who studies the minute points of political history. These only were the objects which could claim the attention of the minister to France, at this period; they did not call forth any prominent display of his great and various talents, but they required no ordinary address, involved as they were by the skilful intrigues of such ministers as Vergennes and Calonne, and opposed, for the most part, by all the men of influence who thought that their interests might be compromised or endangered. Among the principal benefits then obtained, and continued to the United States until the period of the French revolution, were the abolition of several monopolies, and the free admission into France of tobacco, rice, whale oil, salted fish, and flour; and of the two latter articles into the French West India Islands.

During his residence in Europe, Mr. Jefferson also visited Holland, and his memoir embraces a brief but clear account of the fatal revolution, by which the Prince of Orange made himself sovereign of that republic, so long and honourably independent. He also crossed the Alps, and travelled through Lombardy, though he did not extend his journey to the southern part of the peninsula. In returning to Paris, he visited all the principal seaports of the southern and western coasts of France, and made many and interesting observations with regard to the culture of the vine, olive, and rice, which were carefully communicated to his friends across the Atlantic; and he had reason to believe, afterwards, that they had not failed to produce benefits, which in time will be of wide-extended utility.

When Mr. Jefferson reached Paris, he found that city in high fermentation from the early events of the revolution; and, during the remainder of his stay in Europe, his attention was well and fully occupied in observing, as an eye-witness, the progress of the extraordinary occurrences which from that time took place in rapid succession.

While in France, Mr. Jefferson enjoyed an intimacy with a great number of remarkable and celebrated personages, and the observations he has recorded are worthy of a high consideration. He was charmed with the vivacity of French society, and formed a very exalted estimate of the intellectual character of the French.

As Mr. Jefferson was absent from America, both during the session of the convention which formed the constitution, and while that act was under discussion in the several states, he had no opportunity to take part in its formation. The want of a general government had been severely felt, and the difficulties of the country were greatly increased, by the failure of treaties abroad, which might have given a system to our foreign relations, that could scarcely be expected, while the states presented a social form so feebly connected; the federal constitution, therefore, had been framed from a general conviction of its necessity. No one rejoiced more than Mr. Jefferson at the formation of the new constitution, and its ratification by the states. Of the great mass of it, also, he entirely approved. In a letter to Mr. Madison, dated Paris, December 20, 1787, he thus writes: "I like much the general idea of framing a government, which should go on of itself, peaceably, without needing continual recurrence to the state legislatures. I like the organization of the government into legislative, judiciary, and executive. I like the power given the legislature to levy taxes, and for that reason solely, I approve of the greater house being chosen by the people directly.

For though I think a House, so chosen, will be very far inferior to the present Congress, it will be very illy qualified to legislate for the Union, for foreign nations, &c.; yet this evil does not weigh against the good of preserving inviolate the fundamental principle, that the people are not to be taxed but by representatives chosen immediately by themselves. I am captivated by the compromise of the opposite claims of the great and little states, of the latter to equal, and the former to proportional influence. I am much pleased, too, with the substitution of the method of voting by persons, instead of that of voting by states: and I like the negative given to the executive, conjointly with a third of either house; though I should have liked it better, had the judiciary been associated for that purpose, or invested separately with a similar power. There are other good things of less moment."

There were some things, however, in the new system which Mr. Jefferson did not like. These were the omission of a bill of rights, and the abandonment in almost every instance of the principle of rotation in office, and most particularly in the case of the president. The first mentioned was the chief objection not only of Mr. Jefferson, but of Patrick Henry and the whole state-rights party.

After the inauguration of Washington as president of the United States, that illustrious man tendered to Mr. Jefferson the important post of secretary of state, and the appointment was accepted. At this period, the department of state had the most arduous duties to perform, and it required the highest abilities in the secretary. Mr. Jefferson was first called upon by Congress to prepare a plan for establishing a uniform system of currency, weights and measures. He made an able report, but the system he recommended was not adopted. He opposed the creation of a national bank as planned by Hamilton, and to the last maintained that institution to be unconstitutional. During

the war between Great Britain and the French republic, Jefferson was disposed to favour the latter as the policy of his department. But president Washington insisted upon a steady neutrality.

In January, 1794, Mr. Jefferson resigned the office of secretary of state, and was succeeded by Mr. Randolph. He resigned, with an intention of never again resuming any public office. "For, as to myself," says he, in a letter to Mr. Madison, "the subject has been thoroughly weighed and decided on, and my retirement from office has been meant from all office, high or low, without exception. My health is entirely broken down within the last eight months; my age requires that I should place my affairs in a clear state; these are sound if taken care of, but capable of considerable dangers if long neglected; and above all things, the delights I feel in the society of my family, and in the agricultural pursuits in which I am so eagerly engaged. The little spice of ambition which I had in my younger days has long since evaporated, and I set still less store by a posthumous than present name. In stating to you the heads of reasons which have produced my determination, I do not mean an opening for future discussions, or that I may be reasoned out of it. The question is for ever closed with me."

The whole time of Mr. Jefferson was now devoted to the education of his family, the cultivation of his estate, the intercourse of friendship, and the pursuit of those philosophical studies which he had so long abandoned, but to which he now returned with revived ardour. In the retirement of his closet, and amid such employments, the biographer has but little to relate, and detail would be monotonous to the reader.

When a new presidential election approached, the republican party again selected Mr. Jefferson as its candidate. The federalists supported Mr. Adams and General Pinck-

ney, and both parties being animated by the prospect of success, the contest was maintained with uncommon ardour. But a most untoward and unlooked-for event now occurred. By the constitution, as it existed at that period, each elector voted for two men without, designating which was to be president; and he who obtained the greatest number of votes was to be president, and the nearest to him vice-president. Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr had an equal number of votes, and the election, according to the constitution, was to be decided by the House of Representatives. Here it also most singularly occurred, that the states were, for a long time, equally divided; and hopes were expressed by his friends, and fears reluctantly admitted by his opponents, that Mr. Burr would be elected to the office of president. Week after week were the people kept in intense solicitude, while the contest was thus maintained; again and again the voting went round, and the result continued the same; and every exertion was made to raise to the highest office of the nation, a man who had not received for that purpose a solitary vote of the people. The time limited by the constitution for the election of a president had nearly arrived, and there was danger that government must come to a pause, or be resolved into its original elements. At length, after thirty-five ineffectual ballots, one of the representatives of the state of Maryland made public the contents of a letter to himself, written by Mr. Burr, in which he declined all pretensions to the presidency, and authorized him to disclaim, in his name, any competition with Mr. Jefferson. On this specific declaration, two federal members, who represented the states which had heretofore voted blank, withdrew, and permitted the republican members from those states to become a majority. Consequently, on the thirty-sixth balloting, Mr. Jefferson was elected president, and Colonel Burr became, of course, vice-president.

On the 4th of March, 1801, he took the oath of office, and was inaugurated president of the United States. In December ensuing, he sent his first message to the national legislature. On this occasion he departed from the practice which had hitherto prevailed, and instead of personally delivering a speech to the two houses of Congress, he transmitted to them a written message, which was first read by the Senate, and then sent to the House of Representatives. The example thus set, has since been followed by every successive executive. This message increased the reputation of Mr. Jefferson, and was worthy of the pen which drafted the Declaration of Independence. It has often been referred to as containing the manual of Democracy, and the theoretical outlines of a free government.

In forming his cabinet, president Jefferson appointed James Madison, secretary of state; Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury; General Dearborn, secretary of war; Robert Smith, secretary of the navy; and Levi Lincoln, attorney-general.

At the threshold of his administration, Mr. Jefferson was met by difficulties which called into requisition all the firmness of his character. He found the principal offices of the government, and most of the subordinate ones, in the hands of his political opponents. This state of things required prompter correctives than the tardy effects of death and resignation. On him, therefore, for the first time, devolved the disagreeable enterprise of effecting this change. The general principles of action which he sketched for his guide on this occasion, were the following: 1st, All appointments to civil office, during pleasure, made after the event of the election was certainly known to Mr. Adams, were considered as nullities. He did not view the persons appointed as even candidates for the office, but replaced others without noticing or notifying them. 2d, Officers who had been guilty of *official* mal-conduct were proper subjects of re-

moval. 3d, Good men, to whom there was no objection but a difference of political principle, practised on so far only as the right of a private citizen would justify, were not proper subjects of removal, except in the case of attorneys and marshals. The courts being so decidedly federal, it was thought that those offices, being the doors of entrance, should be exercised by republican citizens, as a shield to the republican majority of the nation. 4th, Incumbents who had prostituted their offices to the oppression of their fellow citizens, ought, in justice to those citizens to be removed, and as examples to deter others from like abuses.

To these means of introducing the intended change, was added one other in the course of his administration—to wit, removal for electioneering activity, or open and industrious opposition to the principles of the government. “Every officer of the government,” said he, “may vote at elections according to his own conscience; but we should betray the cause committed to our care, were we to permit the influence of official patronage to be used to overthrow that cause.” In all new appointments, the president confined his choice to republicans, or republican federalists.

The change in the public offices was the first measure of importance which gave a character of originality to the administration. Various abuses existed, dependent on executive indulgence, which soon called into action the reforming hand of the president. In a letter of the president to Nathaniel Macon, member of Congress from North Carolina, in May, 1801, it is curious to notice the following laconic statement of the progress and intended course of reform:

“Levees are done away.

“The first communication to the next Congress will be, like all subsequent ones, by message, to which no answer will be expected.

“The diplomatic establishment in Europe will be reduced to three ministers.

"The compensations to collectors depend on you, and not on me.

"The army is undergoing a chaste reformation.

"The navy will be reduced to the legal establishment by the last of this month.

"Agencies in every department will be revised.

"We shall push you to the uttermost in economizing.

"A very early recommendation had been given to the postmaster general to employ no printer, foreigner, or revolutionary tory, in any of his offices. This department is still untouched.

"The arrival of Mr. Gallatin, yesterday, completed the organization of our administration."

Scarcely had the president entered upon the duties of his office, when our commerce in the Mediterranean was interrupted by the pirates. Tripoli, the least considerable of the Barbary powers, came forward with demands unfounded either in right or compact, and avowed the determination to extort them at the point of the sword, on our failure to comply peaceably before a given day. The president, with becoming energy, immediately put in operation such measures of resistance as the urgency of the case demanded, without waiting the advice of Congress. The style of the challenge admitted but one answer. He sent a squadron of frigates into the Mediterranean, with assurances to the Bey of Tripoli of our sincere desire to remain in peace; but with orders to protect our commerce, at all hazards, against the threatened attack. The Bey had already declared war in form. His cruisers were out; two had arrived at Gibraltar. Our commerce in the Mediterranean was blockaded; and that of the Atlantic in peril. The arrival of the American squadron dispelled the danger. One of the Tripolitan cruisers having fallen in with and engaged a small schooner of ours, which had gone out as a tender to the larger vessels, was captured with a heavy

slaughter of her men, and without the loss of a single one on our part. This severe chastisement, with the extraordinary skill and bravery displayed by the Americans, quieted the pretensions of the Bey, and operated as a caution in future to that desperate community of freebooters.

On the 8th of December, 1801, Mr. Jefferson made his first annual communication to Congress, *by message*. It had been the uniform practice with his predecessors to make their first communications on the opening of Congress, by personal address, to which a formal answer was immediately returned by each house separately. A desire to impart a more popular character to the government by divesting it of a ceremonial which partook in some degree of the character of a royal pageant, a regard to the convenience of the legislature, the economy of their time, and relief from the embarrassments of immediate answers, induced Mr. Jefferson to adopt the mode of communication by message, to which no answer was returned. And his example has been followed by all succeeding presidents.

The reduction of the land and naval forces, and of the taxes, excises, and imposts; as well as the repeal of the alien and sedition laws, were strongly recommended in the message of the president, and Congress immediately took action upon his suggestions. The administration was sustained by a large majority in the national legislature.

The greatest measure of Mr. Jefferson's first administration was the acquisition of Louisiana. He early became convinced of the absolute necessity of obtaining this territory. "Whilst the prosperity and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters"—we use his own language—"secured an independent outlet for the produce of the western states, and an uncontrolled navigation through their whole course, free from collision with other powers,

and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise, in due season, important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws." This was the most important acquisition ever made by our country. The territory acquired included all the waters of the Missouri and Mississippi, and more than doubled the area of the United States; while the new part was not inferior to the old in soil, climate, productions, and important communications. The sum of fifteen millions of dollars was the price paid for this acquisition; and on the 20th of December, 1803, it was formally surrendered to the United States by the commissioner of France.

The period for a new election was now approaching, and so much had Mr. Jefferson's popularity increased during his administration, that he was elevated a second time to the presidency, by a majority which had risen from eight votes to one hundred and forty-eight. The venerable George Clinton of the state of New York was, at the same time, chosen vice-president; and both, according to custom, were sworn into office on the 4th of March, 1805.*

Soon after the second inauguration of Mr. Jefferson, the conduct of Colonel Aaron Burr began to excite considerable apprehensions in the government. That talented but unprincipled man, having been discarded by the republican party on account of his opposition to Jefferson, and detested by the Federalists for killing Hamilton in a duel, had retired into the western country, brooding over his disappointments and searching for new fields in which to exercise his restless ambition.

In the autumn of 1806, his mysterious movements attracted the attention of government. He had purchased

and was building boats on the Ohio, and engaging men to descend that river. His declared purpose was to form a settlement on the banks of the Washita, in Louisiana; but the character of the man, the nature of his preparations, and the incautious disclosures of his associates, led to the suspicion that his true object was either to gain possession of New Orleans, and erect into a separate government the country watered by the Mississippi and its branches, or to invade, from the territories of the United States, the rich Spanish province of Mexico. But whatever may have been the ultimate object of his plans, no sooner had Mr. Jefferson received information that a number of private individuals were combining together, arming and organizing themselves contrary to law, with the avowed object of carrying on some military expedition against the territories of Spain, than he took immediate measures to arrest and bring to justice its authors and abettors. Colonel Burr, finding his scheme thus discovered and defeated, and hearing, at the same time, that several persons suspected of being his accomplices had been arrested, fled in disguise from Natchez, and was apprehended on the Tombigbee. Two indictments were found against him, one charging him with treason against the United States, the other with preparing and commencing an expedition against the dominions of Spain. He was bound over to take his trial on the last charge alone, the chief justice thinking there was not sufficient evidence of an overt act in the former. On the 17th of August, 1807, he was brought to trial before Judge Marshall, chief justice of the United States. The assemblage of individuals was fully proved; but there was not sufficient legal evidence to establish the presence of Colonel Burr, or the use of any force against the authority of the United States, and the consequence was an acquittal by the jury. The people, however, believed him guilty, and in this opinion the president largely shared.

The principal act of Mr. Jefferson's second term of administration was the famous "Embargo." During the wars waged by Great Britain against Bonaparte, the commerce of the United States suffered severely, and the merchants called for some measure of redress and protection.

"Bonaparte having declared his purpose of enforcing with rigour the Berlin decree, and the British government having solemnly asserted the right of search and impressment, and having intimated their intention to adopt measures in retaliation of the French decree, Mr. Jefferson recommended to Congress that the seamen, ships, and merchandise should be detained in port to preserve them from the dangers which threatened them on the ocean. A law laying an indefinite embargo was in consequence enacted. A hope to coerce the belligerent powers to return to the observance of the laws of nations, by depriving them of the benefits derived from the trade of America, was doubtless a concurring (and perhaps the strongest) motive for passing the law."

This enactment, at the time of its passage, was received by many with clamour and discontent, and the distress which the people endured from its operation was unmitigated and severe. But the wisdom of the measure was shortly manifested, and before a year had expired, overtures were made by the British government which indicated a disposition to recede from or meliorate their tyrannical edicts. These overtures were succeeded by negotiations, which finally terminated in a repeal of the most objectionable features of the orders in council.

The period had now arrived, when Mr. Jefferson was to enjoy that retirement and philosophic ease which he had so long coveted, and to which he was so ardently attached. Public employment, and office, had never been his choice, and nothing but duty to his country had ever drawn him from the retreats of Monticello. Believing that no person

should hold the office of chief magistrate longer than eight years, he had previously announced his intention that, when his service had completed the stipulated term, he should retire to private life. He had now reached the age of sixty-five years, forty of which had been employed in the arduous duties of public life. No one had served the country with more industry, zeal, and benefit, and no one had sacrificed more personal comfort for that purpose; and he now retired from the "scene of his glory," before age had dimmed his eye, or impaired his usefulness.*

In the spring of 1809, Mr. Jefferson made his last retreat to the hermitage of Monticello, followed by the best wishes of his grateful countrymen, who could not refrain from an expression of admiration for his genius and long career of public service. The remainder of his useful life was spent in such labours and recreations as "befitted a wise man." He maintained an extensive correspondence with statesmen and philosophers up to the time of his death, and ever displayed a keen interest in all schemes tending to advance the happiness of humanity. The most interesting portion of his correspondence, is that which he held towards the close of his life, with John Adams.

They had, says another writer, been coadjutors in former days of trial and danger. They had laboured side by side in the same field. At length the separation of parties estranged them from each other. Each retired from the helm of state to his farm, his family, and his books. Their early companions had almost all disappeared, and they left alone among a new generation. The jealousies inseparable from their late rivalry, neither of them wished any longer to feel or acknowledge, and whatever remained gradually gave place to the recollections of their ancient friendship. The infirmity of advanced age, which shows itself in the forgetfulness of recent events, while those of former days

* Linn.

are still fresh in the mind, came in aid of their good feelings. They more readily forgot the recent estrangement, and more easily returned to their former attachment. There was only wanting something to give occasion to the renewal of their correspondence. It thus occurred. Two of Mr. Jefferson's neighbours having, by the invitation of Mr. Adams, passed the day with him at Braintree, he remarked upon the injustice done by the licentiousness of the press to Mr. Jefferson, adding, "I always loved Jefferson, and still love him." Mr. Jefferson, in relating this anecdote, subjoins, "This is enough for me. I only needed this acknowledgment to revive towards him all the affections of the most cordial moments of our lives." The ensuing remarks do honour to his candour and liberality.

"Changing a single word only in Dr. Franklin's character of him, I knew him to be always an honest man, often a great one, but sometimes incorrect and precipitate in his judgments; and it is known to those who have ever heard me speak of Mr. Adams, that I have ever done him justice myself, and defended him when assailed by others, with the single exception as to his political opinions. But with a man possessing so many other estimable qualities, why should we be dissocialized by mere differences of opinion in politics, in religion, in philosophy, or in anything else. His opinions are as honestly formed as my own. Our different views of the same subject are the result of a difference in our organization and experience. I never withdrew from the society of any man on this account, although many have done it from me; much less should I do it from one with whom I had gone through with hand and heart so many trying scenes. I wish, therefore, but for an appropriate occasion to express to Mr. Adams my unchanged affections for him."

Their former friendship thus revived, they continued to communicate to each other their opinions on government,

morals, and religion. They amused their leisure by reviewing the speculations of Pythagoras and Plato, of Epicurus and Cicero, and derived a new pleasure from the studies of their youth, by applying to them the results of their long experience. The armour which, like old soldiers after their dismissal from honourable service, they could no longer use, it was their pride to keep polished, and retain in their sight. While the busy world around them was engaged in the contentions of party, or of business, they were peacefully interchanging their reminiscences of early life; inquiring after their surviving and departed companions; correcting inaccurate relations of their own history; or comparing their reflections on the books which had become their resource and solace. Their strongest and latest feelings were in favour of the liberty of men and of nations: and it is a most interesting fact, that the last words of Mr. Adams were those of patriotic ejaculation, responsive to the bell which then rung in celebration of the anniversary of our independence; and the last letter of Mr. Jefferson was an expression of a hopeless wish "to participate with his friends in the rejoicings on that day." The same day which had marked the most honourable epoch of their lives, was that in which Providence gave them the privilege to die.

Towards the end of his days, Mr. Jefferson became pecuniarily embarrassed; but the legislature relieved his necessities by granting him permission to dispose of his estate by a lottery. He expired at ten minutes before one o'clock, on the 4th of July, 1826. At this time he had reached the age of eighty-three years, two months, and twenty-one days.

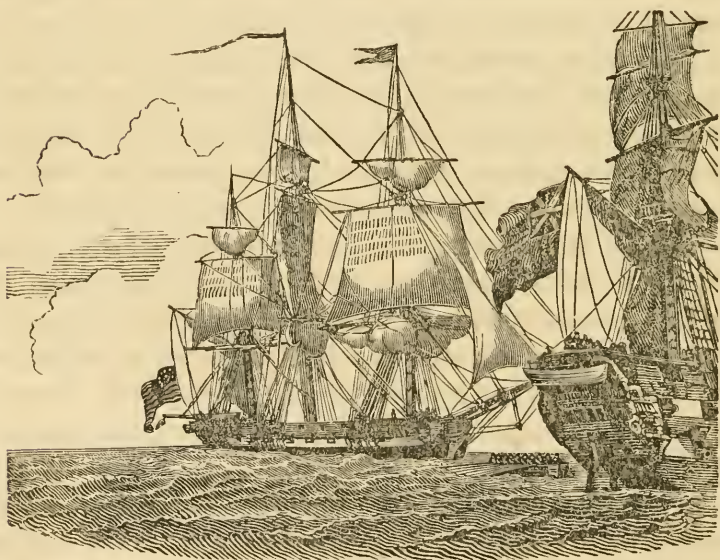
In person, Mr. Jefferson was tall, erect, and well formed, though thin; his countenance was bland and expressive; his conversation fluent, imaginative, various, and eloquent. Few men equalled him in the faculty of pleasing in per-

sonal intercourse and acquiring ascendancy in political connexion. His complexion was fair, and his features remarkably expressive; his forehead broad, the nose not larger than the common size, and the whole face square, and expressive of deep thinking. In his conversation he was cheerful and enthusiastic; and his language was singularly correct and vivacious. His manners were simple and unaffected, mingled, however, with much native but unobtrusive dignity.

In disposition, Mr. Jefferson was full of liberality and benevolence. His charity was unostentatious, but bountiful; a certain portion of his revenue was regularly applied to maintain and extend it; and it has been remarked, that those who, since his death, have travelled in that part of Virginia where he resided, could not fail to be struck with the repeated, the grateful, and the unpremeditated tributes which are everywhere paid to his memory—the constant appeal to his opinions, the careful remembrance and relation of every anecdote affecting his person and his actions. In his family he was hospitable to a degree which caused poverty to throw some dark shadows over the evening of his life; he was kind to his domestics, by whom it was remarked, that no instance had ever occurred in which he had lost his temper; he was warmly attached and devoted to his children and relatives, whom he loved to assemble around him.

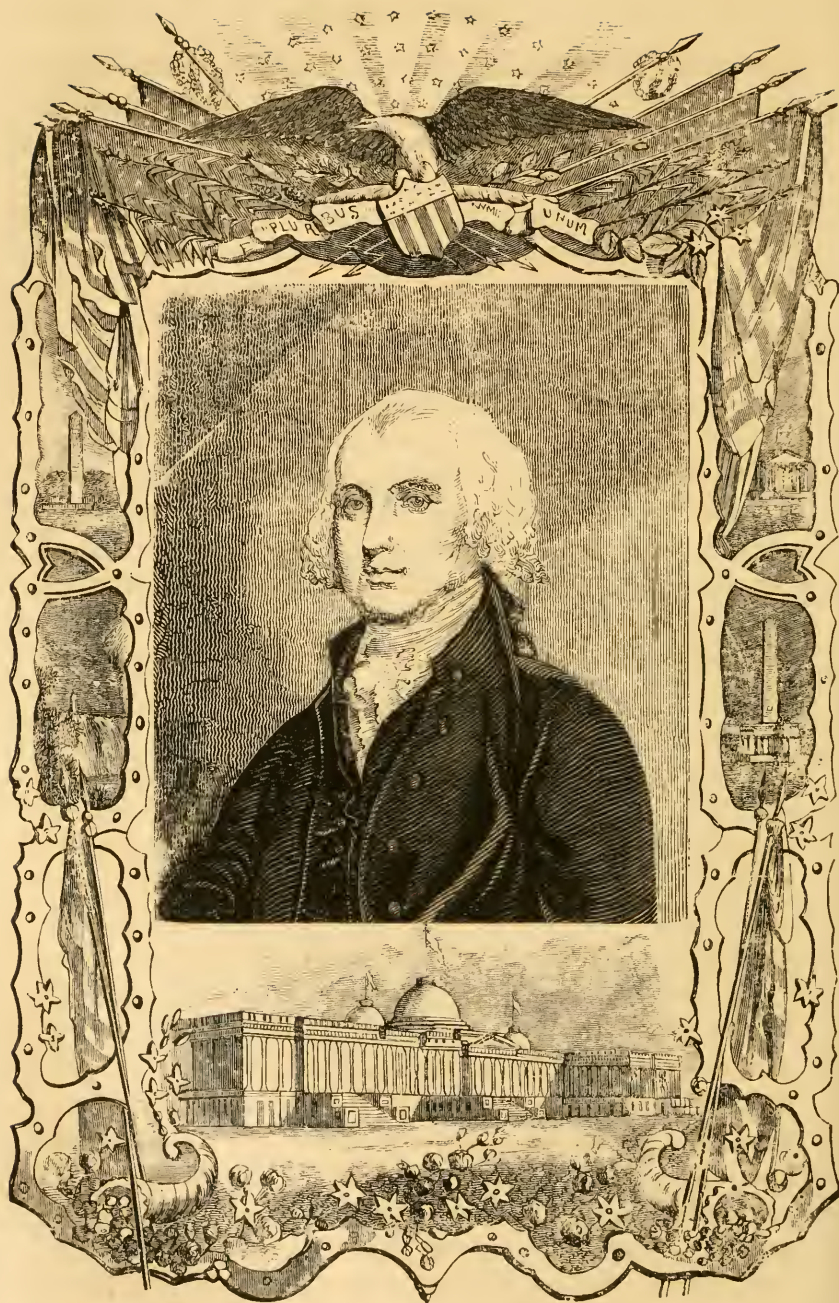
As a statesman, Mr. Jefferson was, perhaps, more remarkable for originality of talent than any of the fathers of the republic, with the single exception of Dr. Franklin. The spirit and the creative force of the reformer were fully developed in him. He was unceasing in his inquiries into the reasons upon which institutions were founded. If he discovered in them injustice or a want of adaptation, he immediately bent his energies to overthrow them, and to devise others which were not so liable to objection. Ac-

cordingly, he made a deep impression upon our institutions and governmental policy, which, it seems to us, cannot soon be obliterated. His memory will be dear to Americans, as that of the author of the Declaration of Independence, a patriot statesman of the revolution, and one of the ablest of our presidents.



AFFAIR OF THE CHESAPEAKE.





JAMES MADISON.

THE fourth President of the United States, like Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, must be considered as one of the fathers of the republic. Although not a very prominent statesman, during the revolution Mr. MADISON was among the most conspicuous of those who framed the constitution, and secured its ratification. He could claim the authorship of a large part of that noble charter, and the honour of having been the ablest advocate, Hamilton alone excepted, of all of its most valuable provisions.

James Madison was born in Orange county, Virginia, on the 5th of March, 1750. His parents were respectable and opulent. James received the rudiments of an education partly at a public school, and partly in the paternal mansion, under the tuition of the Rev. Thomas Martin. His preparatory studies being completed, he was sent to Princeton College, in New Jersey. There, in 1772, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Dr. Witherspoon was then president of the college. For that learned gentleman, Mr. Madison entertained the highest respect, and, after graduating, he pursued a course of reading under his able direction. Mr. Madison was an exceedingly close student; and his extraordinary application while at college seriously impaired a constitution naturally delicate.

Returning to Virginia, Mr. Madison began to prepare himself for the legal profession. But political affairs divert-

ed his attention. He first distinguished himself by extraordinary efforts on behalf of the clergy of the Baptist denomination, who were imprisoned for preaching in defiance of prohibitory laws. He received his first public office in the spring of 1776, when he was chosen to a seat in the convention called to frame the first constitution of Virginia. As he was extremely diffident, he made no figure in that body. The same year, he was chosen to a seat in the legislature. There, also, he was a silent member, and consequently, his reputation for legislative capacity suffered. In the following year, he was nominated for the same post, but lost the election. A few persons of ability and influence, however, knew the talents, energy, and public spirit of the modest young man, and exerted themselves in his behalf; so that when the legislature convened, he was named a member of the executive council, in which office he remained until 1780, when he was called to act a part on a more important stage, being elected a member of the Continental Congress.

Mr. Madison took his seat in the famous Congress of the revolution in March, 1780. He continued in that body three years, performing arduous services, and earning a solid reputation. In October, 1780, he was called upon to prepare the instructions given to Mr. John Jay, then American minister in Spain, maintaining the right of the United States to the navigation of the Mississippi. These were remarkable for their clearness of statement and force of argument. At the end of the war, such was the general confidence in his ability, that he was selected to prepare an address to the states, appealing to them to agree to some plan to enable the Confederacy to meet its pecuniary engagements.

In 1784, Mr. Madison returned to Virginia, and was immediately elected a member of the legislature, to which body he was also chosen during the two succeeding years.

His legislative course was guided by the principles of civil and religious liberty. He opposed the introduction of paper money; and supported the laws of the code prepared by Jefferson and other able and liberal men. In January, 1786, Mr. Madison procured the passage of a resolution by the legislature, inviting delegates from the states to meet at Annapolis, Md., to consider the condition of the country and its necessities. His was the first step taken to bring about a Convention to frame a Federal constitution. Governor Randolph, Mr. Madison, and six other men of high character were appointed as delegates from Virginia.

The convention met at Annapolis in September. Five states were represented; the others had taken no action upon the invitation. John Dickinson, of Delaware, was elected chairman. An address, believed to have been written by Mr. Madison, was adopted; copies being sent to the different legislatures. This paper recommended a general convention to frame a "Constitution of a Federal Government," adequate to the wants of the country. The various legislatures acted upon its suggestions, and delegates from the states were soon chosen, most of them being men of the highest ability and the most devoted patriotism.

The convention assembled at Philadelphia on the 9th of May, 1787. General Washington was elected to preside over its deliberations. Posterity is indebted to Mr. Madison for the only report of the proceedings of the convention extant. That body was in session for months. The debates were animated, but not violent. Hamilton, Madison, Gouverneur Morris, Gerry, Sherman, and C. C. Pinckney were the chief participants. Mr. Madison spoke frequently, and always with success. His opinions were always treated with a deep respect and consideration; and their influence was generally in the ascendant. As a moderator between the ultra state-rights men and the

ultra Federalists, he was of invaluable service in the convention. When the substance of the labour was complete, the convention appointed five members, Madison being one, as a committee, to revise the articles of the constitution, and, also, to prepare an address to the people of the United States.

The address was a powerful appeal on behalf of the new constitution. Congress unanimously adopted the resolutions of the convention, recommending that the federal charter should be sent to the several states for their approval. But the great labour of the friends of the constitution was yet to be performed. In some of the states gifted and patriotic republicans arrayed themselves in opposition. But Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay entered the field with pen and voice. They united their logic and eloquence in a series of essays entitled the *Federalist*, perhaps the greatest political work ever produced in America. These papers had a powerful influence upon the public mind, and furnished a vast amount of argument for the friends of the constitution in the various state conventions.

The convention for the commonwealth of Virginia met in June, 1788. Eight states had already adopted the constitution, and as nine was the number required, to allow that instrument to go into operation, Virginia was considered a field for a decisive battle. Patrick Henry was the champion of the opposition; Mr. Madison was regarded as the leader of the federalists. Henry opposed the whole plan of the constitution, and contended that it was destructive to the freedom and best interests of the States. George Mason, James Monroe, and William Grayson were his chief supporters. Madison devoted himself particularly to replying to Henry; and he was supported by Governor Randolph, Edmund Pendleton, John Marshall, George Nicholas, and General Henry Lee. The result was a

splendid triumph for Madison. The convention ratified the constitution unconditionally by a majority of eight votes. But resolutions were passed, recommending sundry amendments to supply the omission of a bill of rights.

The constitution being adopted, and the national government organized, Mr. Madison was elected one of the members of the House of Representatives, in the 1st Congress. In the debates upon the measures of Washington's administration, Mr. Madison pursued an independent course; but generally agreed in opinion with Mr. Jefferson, the secretary of state. He was opposed to the creation of a national bank; but in favour of protection to manufactures. When the war between Great Britain and the French republic excited bitter contests of parties in the United States, Mr. Madison inclined to the support of the Jefferson Democratic party. Washington having issued a proclamation of neutrality, the constitutional authority for which was denied, Hamilton thought proper to attempt its vindication in a series of papers, under the signature of *Pacificus*. Mr. Madison, having suspicions of monarchical designs on the part of the secretary of the treasury, entered the lists against him, and published a series of papers under the signature of *Helvidius*, in which the doctrines of *Pacificus* were analyzed with wonderful acuteness and answered with a great power of eloquence. Hamilton did not reply; nor in any of his papers did he notice the *Helvidian* animadversions. As constitutional arguments, these productions of Hamilton and Madison have never been surpassed, and they remain as models for American statesmen.

At the close of the administration of Washington, Mr. Madison relinquished his seat in the House of Representatives. Soon afterwards, he was elected to the legislature of Virginia, in which body he proposed and advocated a series of resolutions, disapproving the "alien and sedition laws." Mr. Jefferson desired that the legislature should

declare these laws null and void ; but the doctrine of nullification did not find much favour with Madison. The resolutions were introduced into the legislature on the 21st of December, 1798. They were sent to the different states, and an address to the people in support of them was written by Mr. Madison. Although strongly denounced in some states, the resolutions contributed to render President Adams very unpopular.

Upon the accession of Jefferson to the presidency, in 1801, a new career was opened to his friend Madison, who thenceforth became his first assistant and most confidential adviser in the administration of the government. During this administration, the duties of the secretary of state were very arduous, in consequence of the state of foreign affairs ; but Mr. Madison proved himself equal to the task he had been chosen to perform.

In the first wars of the French revolution, Great Britain had begun by straining the claim of belligerent as against neutral rights, beyond all the theories of international jurisprudence, and even beyond her own ordinary practice. There is in all war a conflict between the belligerent and the neutral right, which can in its nature be settled only by convention. And in addition to all the ordinary asperities of dissension between the nation at war and the nation at peace, she had asserted a right of man-stealing from the vessels of the United States. The claim of right was to take by force all seafaring men, her own subjects, wherever they were found by her naval officers, to serve their king in his wars. And under colour of this tyrant's right, her naval officers, down to the most beardless midshipman, actually took from the American merchant vessels which they visited, any seaman whom they chose to take for a British subject. After the treaty of November, 1794, she had relaxed all her pretensions against the neutral rights, and had gradually abandoned the practice of impressment

till she was on the point of renouncing it by a formal treaty stipulation. At the renewal of the war after the peace of Amiens, it was at first urged with much respect for the rights of neutrality, but the practice of impressment was soon renewed with aggravated severity, and the commerce of neutral nations with the colonies of the adverse belligerent was wholly interdicted on the pretence of justification, because it had been forbidden by the enemy herself in the time of peace. This pretension had been first raised by Great Britain in the seven years' war, but she had been overawed by the armed neutrality from maintaining it in the war of the American revolution. In the midst of this war with Napoleon, she suddenly reasserted the principle, and by a secret order in council, swept the ocean of nearly the whole mass of neutral commerce. Her war with France spread itself all over Europe, successively involving Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. Not a single neutral power remained in Europe—and Great Britain, after annihilating at Trafalgar the united naval power of France and Spain, ruling thenceforth with undisputed dominion upon the ocean, conceived the project of engrossing even the commerce with her enemy by intercepting all neutral navigation. These measures were met by corresponding acts of violence, and sophistical principles of national law, promulgated by Napoleon, rising to the summit of his greatness, and preparing his downfall by the abuse of his elevation. Through this fiery ordeal the administration of Mr. Jefferson was to pass, and the severest of its tests were to be applied to Mr. Madison. His correspondence with the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and with the ministers of the United States to those nations during the remainder of Mr. Jefferson's administration, constitute the most important and most valuable materials of its history. His examination of the British doctrines relating to neutral trade, will here-

after be considered a standard treatise on the law of nations; not inferior to the works of any writer upon those subjects since the days of Grotius, and every way worthy of the author of *Publius* and *Helvidius*. There is, indeed, in all the diplomatic papers of American statesmen, justly celebrated as they have been, nothing superior to this dissertation, which was not strictly official. It was composed amidst the duties of the department of state, in the summer of 1806. It was published inofficially, and a copy of it was laid on the table of each member of Congress, at the commencement of the session in December, 1806.

The controversies of conflicting neutral and belligerent rights, continued through the whole of Mr. Jefferson's administration, during the latter part of which they were verging rapidly to war. He had carried the policy of peace perhaps to an extreme. His system of defence by commercial restrictions, dry-docks, gun-boats, and embargoes, was stretched to its last hair's-breadth of endurance.

Mr. Jefferson pursued his policy of peace till it brought the nation to the borders of internal war. An embargo of fourteen months' duration was at last reluctantly abandoned by him, when it had ceased to be obeyed by the people, and state courts were ready to pronounce it unconstitutional. A non-intercourse was then substituted in its place, and the helm of state passed from the hands of Mr. Jefferson to those of Mr. Madison, precisely at the moment of this perturbation of earth and sea threatened with war from abroad and at home, but with the principle definitively settled that in our intercourse with foreign nations, reason, justice, and commercial restrictions require live oak hearts and iron or brazen mouths to speak, that they may be distinctly heard, or attentively listened to, by the distant ear of foreigners, whether French or British, monarchical or republican.

The administration of Mr. Madison was, with regard to its most essential principles, a continuation of that of Mr.

Jefferson. He too was the friend of peace, and earnestly desirous of maintaining it. As a last resource for the preservation of it, an act of Congress prohibited all commercial intercourse with both belligerents, the prohibition to be withdrawn from either or both in the event of a repeal by either of the orders and decrees in violation of neutral rights. France ungraciously and equivocally withdrew hers. Britain refused, hesitated, and at last conditionally withdrew hers—when it was too late—after a formal declaration of war had been issued by Congress, at the recommendation of President Madison himself.

The act declaring war was approved by the president on the 18th of June, 1812. In the previous May, Mr. Madison had been nominated for re-election, and Elbridge Gerry was nominated by the war party for the vice-presidency. De Witt Clinton and Jared Ingersoll were the opposing candidates.

At the commencement of the war, President Madison's cabinet was organized as follows: James Monroe, secretary of state; Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury; William Eustis, secretary of war; Paul Hamilton, secretary of the navy; and William Pinckney, attorney-general. Mr. Monroe, alone, possessed the military knowledge required for the conduct of a war. The army and navy were both insignificant in force. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the first operations of the contest were disastrous for the Americans.

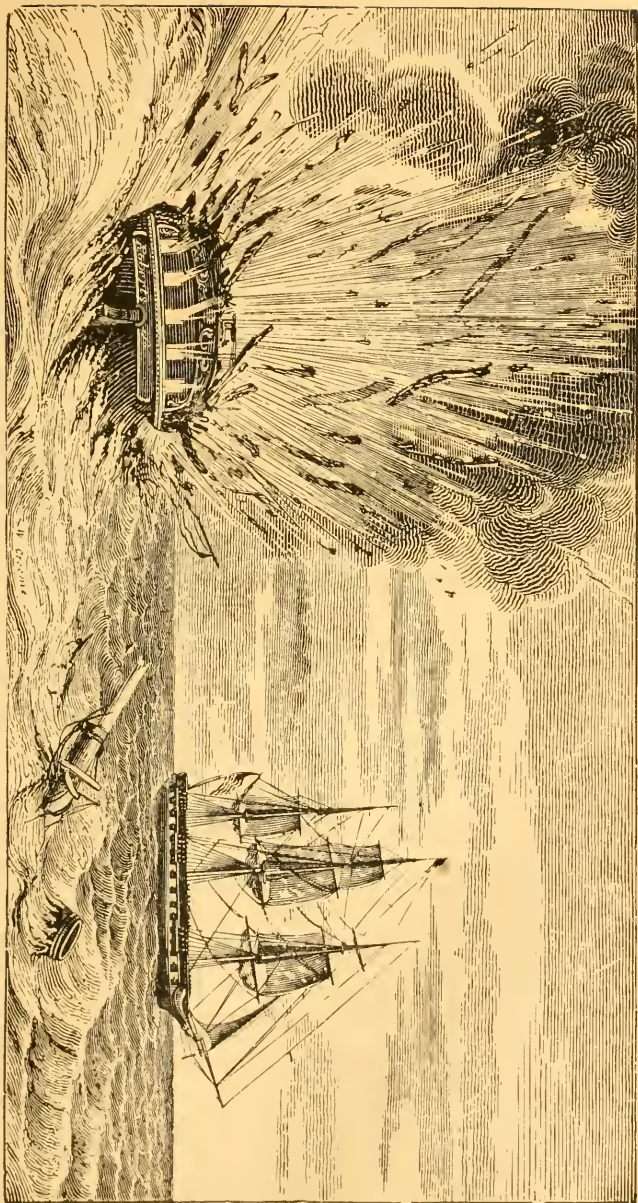
Soon after the declaration of war, General William Hull invaded Canada at the head of a considerable force, and issued a somewhat bombastic proclamation inviting the inhabitants to join his army, or, at least, to submit quietly to his arms. The proclamation produced no considerable effect, and soon afterwards General Hull saw fit to return to Detroit. There he was attacked, in August, by an army of British Canadians and Indians, under General

Brock. The American troops were eager for a conflict and confident of victory. But the imbecile Hull, being seized with a panic, hoisted the white flag and surrendered his whole force without firing a gun (August 16th). The courage of the troops had been previously tested at Brownstown, where Colonel Miller defeated a much superior force of British and Indians.

Not only the heroes of Brownstown, but the detachments then absent from the fort, the volunteers and all the provisions at Raisin, and those of no inconsiderable amount, the fortified posts and garrisons, and the whole territory and inhabitants of Michigan, were delivered over by capitulation, to the commanding general of the British forces. Forty barrels of powder, two thousand five hundred stand of arms, and an armament (consisting of twenty-five iron, and eight brass pieces of ordnance), the greater part of which had been captured from the British in the revolutionary war, were surrendered with them.

It has been matter of conjecture, whether General Hull's conduct was the result of cowardice or perfidy. In his official despatches to the government, he attempted to defend his conduct upon grounds with which they were not satisfied—and which could not be proved before the court martial, by whom, after being exchanged for thirty British prisoners, he was tried. After an investigation of all the facts, the court declined making a decision on the charge of treason, which was alleged against him, but said they did not believe, from anything which had come before them, that he had been guilty of that act. On the second charge, for cowardice—and the third for neglect of duty and un-officerlike conduct, they condemned him. A sentence of death was passed upon him, but in consideration of his revolutionary services and his advanced age, he was earnestly recommended to the mercy of the president, who remitted the sentence, but directed a general order to be

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE GUERRIERE.



issued, by which his name was struck from the rolls of the army.

Contemporaneous with the disaster at Detroit, was a succession of brilliant achievements on the ocean, paralleled perhaps, but never yet surpassed; the intelligence of which entirely dispelled the temporary gloom which pervaded the minds, and filled with grief the hearts of the American people. At the commencement of hostilities, such of the United States vessels of war, whose equipments were entire, had orders to proceed immediately to sea. A squadron of three frigates, one brig, and one sloop of war, sailed on the 21st of June (1812) from New York, in quest of several of the enemy's frigates, known to be at that time cruising off the entrance to that harbour. On the 3d of July, the frigate *Essex*, Captain Porter, went to sea from the same port; and the *Constitution*, Captain Hull, sailed from the Chesapeake Bay on the 12th. The brigs *Nautilus*, *Viper*, and *Vixen*, were at the same time cruising off the coast; and the sloop-of-war *Wasp* was at sea, on her return from France.

After escaping from a British fleet, the frigate *Constitution*, on the 18th of August, encountered the British frigate *Guerriere* of nearly equal force, and commanded by Captain Dacres, and after a close and destructive action reduced her to a wreck. Captain Hull, the brave and skilful commander, gained the highest honour by this signal victory. The first year of the war was rendered glorious for the young navy of America by other victories. On the 18th of October, the sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jones, captured the British brig *Frolic*; and on the 25th of the same month the frigate *United States*, Captain Stephen Decatur, captured the British frigate *Macedonian*, after a well-contested battle. On the 30th of December, the *Constitution*, while commanded by Captain Bainbridge, captured the British frigate *Java*, being the second splendid achieve-

ment of this gallant frigate, the pride of Americans. In all these actions, the superior gunnery of the American vessels was evident; and the loss of the enemy was very severe.

The presidential election in 1812 resulted in the choice of Mr. Madison and Mr. Gerry, by a large majority. The elections for members of Congress resulted in the decisive triumph of the administration. But it was evident that the opposition was very powerful in the New England States. There the war was denounced as unnecessary, iniquitous, and destructive to the interests of the country. Soon after Mr. Madison's re-election, some changes were made in the cabinet. William Jones, of Pennsylvania, was appointed secretary of the navy, and General John Armstrong secretary of war. The former occupants of these posts had resigned.

The surrender of Hull laid the north-western frontier open to the ravages of the British and Indians. But great efforts were made to bring a new army into the field, and General William Henry Harrison, a favourite commander in the west, was appointed commander-in-chief in that quarter. A large and efficient volunteer force was soon in the field. Several expeditions into the Indian country were undertaken, and considerable injury was inflicted upon the savages. Fort Harrison, a frontier post, was successfully defended by Captain Zachary Taylor against a large body of Indians; and Fort Wayne resisted a similar attack. The north-western army was now divided into two portions, one commanded by Harrison, and the other by Winchester. The British were compelled to evacuate Fort Defiance, and the American commander-in-chief then prepared his plans for the recovery of the whole north-western territory.

Whilst these events were transpiring in the western department of the union, dispositions had been made, and

troops collected at the different stations along the Niagara river; from the Lake Erie to the Lake Ontario; and beyond the latter, along the shore of the St. Lawrence. Excursions from the American to the British shores of the rivers, had been frequently made, and on some occasions, were followed by smart skirmishes. The chief command of these forces was given to Major-General Dearborn. The immediate command of the troops on the Niagara, to Major-General Van Rensselaer, of the militia of the state of New York. Brigadier-General Smyth was stationed at Black Rock. The troops on the St. Lawrence were principally garrisoned at Ogdensburg, and commanded by Brigadier-General Brown, also of the New York militia.

Some daring and destructive exploits of the Americans provoked the enemy into an attempt upon Ogdensburg.

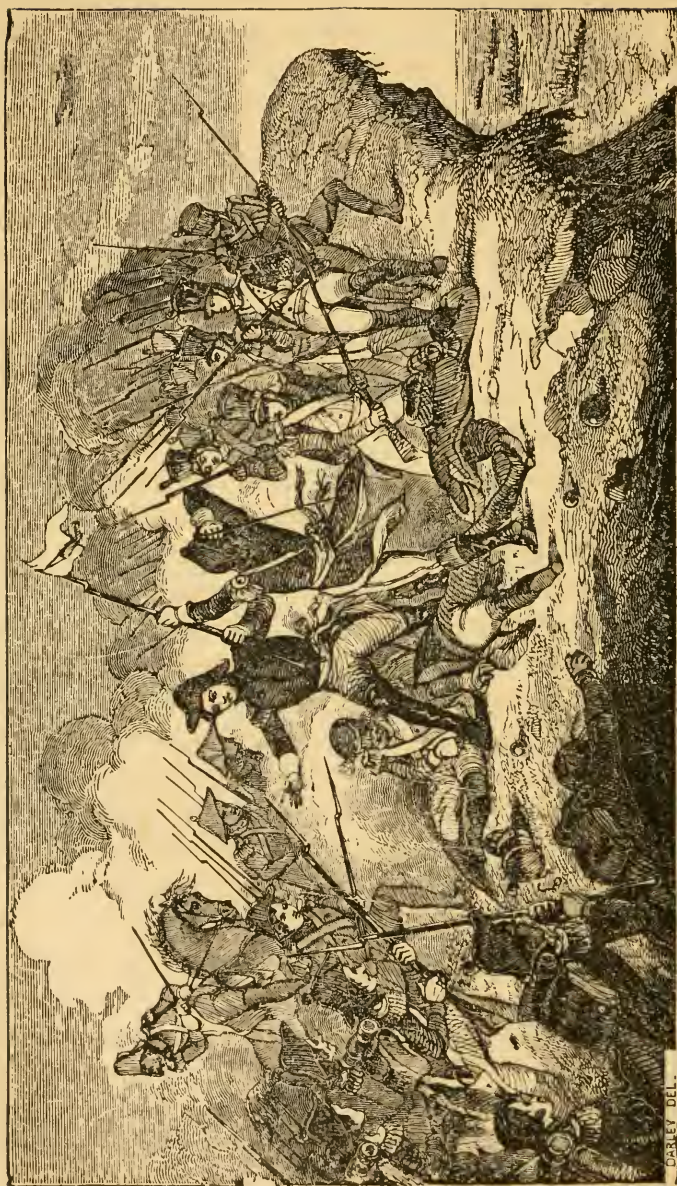
Opposite to this is situated the Canadian village of Prescott, before which the British had a strong line of breast-works. On the 2d of October (1812) they opened a heavy cannonading on the town from their batteries, and continued to bombard it with little intermission until the night of the 3d: one or two buildings only were injured. On Sunday, the 4th, having prepared forty boats, with from ten to fifteen armed men in each, they advanced with six pieces of artillery, to storm the town. General Brown commanded at Ogdensburg in person, and when the enemy had advanced within a short distance, he ordered his troops to open a warm fire upon them. The British, nevertheless, steadily approached the shore, and kept up their fire for two hours; during which, they sustained the galling fire of the Americans, until one of their boats was taken, and two others so shattered, that their crews were obliged to abandon them; they then relinquished the assault, and fled to Prescott.

The troops along the Niagara, under the command of General Van Rensselaer, were eager to engage in some enter-

prise ; and, after much persuasion the general was induced to attempt an offensive movement against Queenstown. Early on the morning of the 13th of October, detachments, under Colonel Christie and Van Rensselaer, were embarked. The British at Queenstown received them with a tremendous fire, through which, however, they bravely advanced to the attack. The fort was carried, and the British were driven from the field. But a rally was soon made. Reinforcements were received on both sides. Victory inclined in favour of the Americans, although they were inferior in numbers. At this critical moment, the troops on the American side, being seized with a panic, refused to cross the river to aid their brave comrades. All the threats and persuasions of General Van Rensselaer were in vain. In the mean time the British were greatly reinforced by the arrival of General Brock, and being hardly pressed on all sides, the American detachment was obliged to surrender. The loss was severe on both sides in this well fought battle. The gallant general of the British, Brock, was among the slain. The American officers won the highest praises from their countrymen by their determined bravery.

General Smyth now succeeded Van Rensselaer in command of the army on the Niagara. Having issued a proclamation calculated to excite the patriotic spirit of the citizens, he was soon at the head of a considerable army. Active operations were immediately commenced. Every British battery between Chippewa and Fort Erie was carried, the cannon spiked or destroyed, sixteen miles of the Canadian frontier were laid waste and deserted, and at day-break on the 28th of November, the batteries on the American side were ready to cover the embarkation of the army. Several attempts were made to effect this embarkation. But the enemy appeared in force, and the elements interfered ; and General Smyth abandoned the expedition for





BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN.

the season. This excited great indignation among the troops and throughout the country. The highest expectations of the Americans had been disappointed.

The year 1813 opened with disasters on the north-western frontier. Exasperated at the success of the American volunteer troops, in their repeated assaults upon the Indian posts along the north-western frontier, the enemy resolved upon an immediate movement of his combined forces to the village of Frenchtown, with a view to intercept the American expedition, in its further approaches towards Detroit. In the event of this movement, which was now every day looked for, the inhabitants of Frenchtown were apprehensive of being massacred, and they therefore implored General Winchester to march to their protection, though the troops at that time under his command were far inferior in numbers to the collected force by which in all probability they would be assailed. Without any previous concert with General Harrison as to the plan of operations, and without his knowledge or authority, General Winchester, yielding to the solicitation of the inhabitants, determined upon marching with his small force (then reduced to 800 men, by the discharge of those regiments whose term of service had expired) to prevent, if possible, the destruction of the village, and the threatened murder of its inhabitants. On the 17th, Lieutenant-Colonel William Lewis was ordered to proceed with a detachment to *Presque-isle*, where he was to await the arrival of another detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Allen, which would soon after be followed by the main body of the troops. On the morning of the 18th, the two detachments concentrated at *Presque-isle*; when Colonel Lewis, having been informed that an advanced party of the British and Indians, amounting to about 500, were already encamped at Frenchtown, immediately determined on attacking them. A rapid march brought him within their view at about 3 o'clock. At three

miles distance he was apprised of their being prepared to receive him, and, lest they should sally out and suddenly encounter him, he arranged his men in order of battle, and approached with caution to the margin of the river. The whole body came within a quarter of a mile of the enemy.

The river only separated them. The line was then displayed, and the passage of the river attempted, under a fire from a howitzer, which the enemy directed against the volunteers, with little effect. The line, remaining compact, marched across the ice to the opposite shore, at the very moment when a signal was given for a general charge. Majors Graves and Madison were instantly ordered to assail the houses and picketing, in and about which the enemy had collected and arrayed his cannon, before this charge could be made. The two battalions advanced with great velocity, under an incessant shower of bullets, carried the picketing with ease, dislodged the British and Indians, and drove them into the wood. Lieutenant-Colonel Allen made a simultaneous movement upon the enemy's left, then at a considerable distance from the remainder of his troops; and after one or two spirited charges, compelled him to break, and drove him more than a mile; after which, he took shelter in the same wood to which the right had retired. Here the two wings concentrated, and, being covered by the fences of several enclosed lots, and a group of houses, with a thick and brushy wood, and a quantity of fallen timber in the rear, they made a stand with their howitzer and small arms. Colonel Allen was still advancing with the right wing of the American detachment, and was exposed to the fire of the whole body of the enemy. Majors Graves and Madison were then directed to move up, with the left and the centre, to make a diversion in favour of the right. Their fire had just commenced, when the right wing advanced upon the enemy's front. A sanguinary fight immediately followed: the houses were desperately assailed; the British, who were stationed behind the fences, vigor-

ously charged upon; and their whole body obliged a third time to fly. Rapid pursuit was instantly given to them. The British and Indians drew the Americans into the wood, in their rear, and again rallying their forces, several times intrepidly attempted, under the direction of Major Reynolds, to break the American line. The fight became close and extremely hot, upon the right wing, but the whole line maintained its ground, repulsed every attempt, followed up the enemy each time as he fell back, and kept him two miles on the retreat under a continual charge. At length, after having obstinately contended against the American arms upwards of three hours, the British and Indians were entirely dispersed, and carrying off all their wounded, and as many of their dead as they could collect, they retired from the field, leaving fifteen of their warriors behind. The American loss amounted to twelve killed and fifty-five wounded. Colonel Lewis encamped upon the same ground, which had been previously occupied by the enemy. He had captured some public property, and protected the inhabitants thus far from the apprehended cruelty of the Indians, and he now made preparations to maintain his position until he should be joined by General Winchester.

On the 29th January, the troops under General Winchester arrived, and when the whole were concentrated, they did not exceed 750 men. Six hundred were posted in pickets, and 150 composing the right wing were encamped in an open field. On the morning of the 22d, at *reveille*, a combined force under *Tecumseh* and Colonel Proctor, of 2100 men, attacked the encampment. The alarm gun was immediately fired, and the troops ready for the reception of the assailants. The attack commenced with a heavy fire of small arms, and the discharge of six pieces of artillery, directed immediately at the temporary breast-work behind which the left wing was stationed. The right wing was attacked with great violence, and sustained the

conflict about twenty minutes, but being outnumbered and overpowered, was obliged to retreat across the river. Two companies, of fifty men each, sallied out of the breastwork to their assistance, but retreated with them. A large body of the Indians had been stationed in the rear of the encampment, before the attack commenced, who either made prisoners of, or cut off, the retreating party. The left wing maintained its ground within the pickets. Three furious onsets were made upon it by the British 41st, each of which was received with distinguished coolness, and each of which terminated in the repulse of the enemy. In the desperate resistance which was made to the charges of this regiment, thirty of its men were killed, and between 90 and 100 wounded. When the right wing was discovered to be retreating, every effort was used to form them in some order of action, either to repel the pursuers, or to regain the temporary breastwork, from behind which, the remaining part of the troops were still gallantly defending themselves. General Winchester's head quarters were several hundred yards from the encampment, he therefore was not in the first of the engagement, but he had no sooner arrived at the ground, then he, Colonel Lewis, and some others, who were attempting to rally the flying right wing, were taken prisoners. The remainder of the battle was fought in confusion, and was rather a proof of the bravery of the Americans, than of any regard which they had for the order of the fight. They saw the great disparity of force, and knew how much their own had been weakened by the destruction of the right wing. But they continued to repel every charge of the assailants, until eleven o'clock, when an order was received, by a flag from the enemy, by which it appeared, that General Winchester was assured, that unless the troops of his command were immediately surrendered, the buildings in Frenchtown would be set on fire, and that no responsibility would

be taken for the conduct of the savages, who composed the largest part of the enemy's force: that to save the lives of the remaining portion of his brave troops, he had agreed to surrender them prisoners of war, on condition of their being protected from the savages, of their being allowed to retain their private property, and of having their side arms returned to them. Thirty-five officers, and 487 non-commissioned officers and privates were accordingly surrendered, after having fought with small arms, against artillery, for six hours; and being all that time surrounded by Indians resorting to their usual terrific yells. The loss of the Americans was twenty-two officers, and 275 non-commissioned officers and privates killed and missing, and three officers and twenty-two privates wounded, who were among the prisoners surrendered. The enemy's loss, except that of the 41st regulars, could not be ascertained, every means being used to prevent a discovery. It has been supposed, however, that it was little less than that of the Americans. Colonel Proctor afterwards stated it, in his official communication, to be twenty-four killed, and 158 wounded.

The events which followed the surrender of the American arms, were of such a nature as to make the heart of man recoil from their recital, and to deprive their recorder, at a more distant day, of that degree of temperance, which ought ever to be inseparable from candid and impartial narration.

The prisoners were handed over to the tender mercies of the savages, and during Proctor's retreat, a large number of them were plundered, slaughtered, and mangled, with circumstances too horrible to be related. The massacre at the river Raisin stands in history as a foul blot upon the memory of Proctor, whom the British government thought proper to promote for his services on this occasion.

No event of any consequence occurred during the remainder of the winter. The movement of General Win-

chester was entirely subversive of General Harrison's plans, and so contrary to his arrangements, that the whole system of organization was again to be gone over. General Harrison, therefore, left the troops strengthening the posts of Fort Meigs, Upper Sandusky, and Fort Stephenson, whilst he returned to Ohio, to consult with the governor, to accelerate the march of the reinforcements, and to expedite the transportation of additional stores. He had not been long absent from Fort Meigs, before the garrison was threatened with an attack. New levies were hastily made from Ohio and Kentucky, but as they did not arrive in time to resist the enemy, now collecting in large numbers in the neighbourhood, the Pennsylvania brigade voluntarily extended its term of service, which had just then expired. General Harrison was apprised of this circumstance by despatch, and returned with all possible expedition to the garrison. He arrived on the 20th April, 1813, and made instant preparation for an approaching siege. The fort was situated on a commanding eminence, and well supplied with every necessary munition of war; but General Harrison being desirous of putting his men in the best possible state of security, was every day erecting fortifications of different descriptions. The troops in the garrison were animated and zealous in the cause of their country, and their exertions without parallel. On the 28th, Captain Hamilton was sent out with a patrolling party. About three miles down the river he discovered the enemy in great force, approaching Fort Meigs, and immediately communicated his discovery to the general. An express was then sent to General Green Clay, who commanded a brigade of twelve hundred Kentuckians, with an order for his immediate march to Fort Meigs. A few British and a body of Indians commenced a very brisk fire from the opposite shore, but the distance was too great to do injury. Their fire was returned from two eighteen-pounders, and they retired and

concealed themselves from the view of the fort. In the evening, the enemy crossed the river in boats, and selected the best situations about the fort, to throw up works for the protection of their battering cannon. The garrison was completely surrounded, and preparations were active, upon one side to storm the fort, and on the other to repel the most vigorous assault. Early on the morning of the 29th, the Indians fired into the fort with their rifles; a constant firing was kept up on both sides during the whole day. Several men in the garrison were slightly wounded, and a number of the enemy killed. The British batteries had been so far constructed during the night, that sufficient protection was afforded to him to work by daylight. Numbers of shot were thrown into the breastworks to impede their progress, but before night, they had three batteries erected, two with four embrasures each, and one bomb battery. On the morning of the 30th, the besiegers were discovered to have extended their batteries, and to be preparing them for the cannon.

General Harrison having a suspicion that the enemy intended to surprise and storm the garrison in its rear, from the circumstance of a number of boats having repeatedly crossed from the old British garrison to the side on which stood the American fort, each loaded with men; he gave orders for one-third of the troops to be constantly on guard, and the remainder to sleep with their muskets in their arms, and to be in readiness to fly to their posts at any moment. The Indians occupied all the advantageous positions round the fort, and to this and many other discouraging circumstances, was added the want of water, which was supplied only from the river, whence a few men each night were obliged to obtain enough for the garrison for the succeeding day. This they did at an imminent risk of their lives, the Indians being always on the alert.

General Clay had put his troops in motion, as soon as he

received General Harrison's orders of the 28th ultimo, and had marched with great expedition. The officer who had been sent with the despatch, arrived at the fort on the 5th, with forty-seven men of General Clay's brigade, and informed General Harrison that the whole detachment was within a few hours' march. Orders were immediately sent to General Clay, to land 800 men on the opposite shore, to storm the enemy's batteries, spike his cannon, and destroy his carriages, whilst a sortie would be circuitously made from the fort, for the purpose of attacking his new works at the same instant, and compelling him to raise the siege. Colonel Dudley was charged with the execution of this order, and Colonel Miller, of the 19th U. S. infantry, was to command the sortie. Colonel Dudley landed his men from the boats in which they had descended the river, and marched them resolutely up to the mouth of the British cannon. The four batteries were instantly carried, 11 guns spiked, and the British regulars and Canadian militia put to flight. In pursuance of General Harrison's orders, Colonel Dudley, after having effected the object of his landing, ought to have crossed the river to Fort Meigs, but his men were so much elated at the success of their first battle, that they became desirous of pursuing and capturing the retreating enemy. An immense body of Indians, at that time marching to the British camp, were met by the regulars as they retired. With these they formed, and putting the Indians in ambush, they made a feint to draw Colonel Dudley's men into the woods, in which they too well succeeded. The Indians came from their ambuscade, and attacked the brave but indiscreet Kentuckians. A severe engagement took place, which terminated in the death or capture of almost the whole detachment, and which was followed by the same kind of massacre, though not to the same extent, that succeeded the surrender at Raisin. The British intercepted the retreat of Colonel

Dudley to the river, where he would have been protected by the guns of Fort Meigs, and only 150 men, out of 800, effected their escape: forty-five were tomahawked, and Colonel Dudley, their gallant leader, was among the killed. The remainder of General Clay's brigade assailed a body of Indians in the wood, near the fort, and would have been also drawn into an ambush, had not General Harrison ordered a party of dragoons to sally out, and protect their retreat to the fort.

The contemplated sortie was intended to have been simultaneous with the attack on the opposite side of the river; but the impetuosity of Colonel Dudley's troops defeated this project, and Colonel Miller, with part of the 19th, and a body of militia, in all, 350 men, sallied forth, after the Indians were apprised of the attack upon the old batteries. He assaulted the whole line of their works, which was defended, as has since been ascertained, by 200 regulars, 150 militia, and 400 or 500 Indians, and after several brilliant and intrepid charges, succeeded in driving the enemy from his principal batteries, and in spiking the cannon. He then returned to the fort with forty-two prisoners, among whom were two lieutenants.

On the 6th, hostilities seemed to have ceased on both sides. The besieged sent down a flag by Major Hukill, to attend to the comforts of the American wounded and prisoners, which returned with the British Major Chambers, between whom and the garrison, some arrangements were made about sending home the prisoners by Cleveland. On the 7th, there was a continuation of bad weather. Flags were passing to and from the two armies during the whole day, and arrangements were entered into, by which the American militia were to be sent to Huron, to return home by that route, and the Indians were to relinquish their claim to the prisoners taken on the opposite shore, and to receive in exchange for them a number of Wyan-

dots, who had been captured in the sallies of the 5th. During the 8th, the exchange and intercourse of flags continued, and a promise was made by the British to furnish General Harrison with a list of the killed, wounded, and prisoners, which, however, was not complied with. On the 9th, the enemy was observed to be abandoning his works.

Thus terminated a siege of thirteen days, in which the British commander, General Proctor, promised the Indian allies, that the American garrison should be reduced, and its defenders delivered over to them as prisoners of war. Eighteen hundred shells and cannon balls had been fired into the fort, and a continual discharge of small arms had been kept up, yet the American loss was only 81 killed and 189 wounded; 17 only of the former during the siege, the remainder in the sortie, and the different assaults of the 5th. Of the latter, 124 were wounded in the sortie, and 66 during the siege. The loss of the United States regulars was 156 in killed and wounded; that of the Kentucky and Ohio militia, and the twelve months' volunteers, 114. But Kentucky, as on other occasions, suffered the most severely, her loss in killed and wounded amounting to 72.

Offensive operations were now for a time suspended. Both parties were preparing naval forces on Lake Erie. It was arranged that until these were completed, the American troops were to remain at Fort Meigs and Sandusky. General Clay was left in command of Fort Meigs.

Arrangements having been entered into between the American and British commissaries to that effect, a mutual exchange of prisoners took place, which restored to the army of the United States all the distinguished officers who had fallen into the hands of the enemy during the campaign of 1812. Vigorous preparations had, in the mean time, been making by the northern army and the army of the centre for opening the campaign of 1813. Reinforcements of regu-

lars from most of the recruiting districts, and the necessary supplies of provisions and military equipments, had been forwarded with the utmost celerity, and everything seemed to promise a successful issue to the contemplated operations.

Reinforcements were now every day arriving, and the concentration of a large force at Sackett's Harbour, was effected about the middle of April (1813). Many of the troops from Champlain, and the shores of the St. Lawrence, were ordered to that point; and it was confidently expected that the campaign would be commenced by the invasion of Canada, in or before the following month of May. Orders had been given to Commodore Chauncey, by the navy department, to receive on board the squadron the commanding general, Dearborn, and any force which he might destine to proceed against the posts on the British Niagara frontier. A plan had been conceived and organized by General Dearborn, by which, in co-operation with the fleet, he was to storm and to carry the works at Little York, the capital of Upper Canada, and to proceed thence to the assault of Fort George, the great bulwark of that country.

Agreeably to a previous arrangement with the commodore, General Dearborn and his suite, with a force of seventeen hundred men, embarked on the 22d and 23d of April, but the prevalence of a violent storm prevented the sailing of the squadron until the 25th. On that day it moved into Lake Ontario, and having a favourable wind, arrived safely at 7 o'clock, on the morning of the 27th, about one mile to the westward of the ruins of Fort Toronto, and two and a half from the town of York. The execution of that part of the plan which applied immediately to the attack upon York, was confided to Colonel Pike, of the 15th regiment, who had then been promoted to the rank of a brigadier-general, and the position which had been fixed upon for landing the troops, was the site of the old fort. The ap-

proach of the fleet being discovered from the enemy's garrison, General Sheaffe, the British commandant, hastily collected his whole force, consisting of upwards of 750 regulars and militia and 100 Indians, and disposed them in the best manner to resist the landing of the American force.

Major Forsythe and his riflemen, in several large *batteaux*, were in the advance. The enemy being within a few feet of the water, and completely masked by the thickness of a copse, commenced a galling fire of musketry and rifle. Major Forsythe determined upon making that part of the shore on which the enemy's principal strength was stationed, and desired his men to rest a moment on their oars, until his riflemen should return the shot. General Pike was at this moment hastening the debarkation of the infantry, when, as he was standing on the ship's deck, he observed the pause of the boats in advance, and springing into that which had been reserved for himself and his staff, he called to them to jump into the boat with him, ordered Major King to follow him instantly with three companies of that regiment, and pushed for the Canadian shore. Before he reached it, Forsythe had landed, and was already engaged with the principal part of the British and Indian force, under the immediate command of General Sheaffe. He contended with them nearly half an hour. The infantry under Major King, the light artillery under Major Eustis, the volunteer corps commanded by Colonel M'Clure, and about thirty men who had been selected from the 15th at Plattsburg, trained to the rifle, and designed to act as a small corps of observation, under Lieutenant Riddle, then landed in rapid succession, and formed in platoons. General Pike took command of the first, and ordering the whole body to prepare for a charge, led them on to the summit of the bank, from which the British grenadiers were pouring down a volley of musketry and rifle shot. The advance

BATTLE OF LITTLE YORK.





of the American infantry was not to be withstood, they remained undisputed masters of the ground.

A fresh front, however, was presented by the British at a distance, which gave way and retired to the garrison as soon as the American troops were again formed, by Major King, for the charge. The whole body of the troops being now landed, orders were given by General Pike to form in platoons, and to march in that order to the enemy's works. As the column emerged from the woods, and came immediately in front of the enemy's first battery, two or three twenty-four pounders were opened upon it, but without any kind of effect. The column moved on, and the enemy retreated to his second battery. The guns of the first were immediately taken, and Lieutenant Riddle, having at this moment come up with his corps, to deliver the prisoners which he had made in the woods, was ordered to proceed to take possession of the second battery, about 100 yards ahead, the guns of which Lieutenant Fraser, aid-de-camp to the general, reported to have been spiked by the enemy, whom he discovered retreating to the garrison. General Pike then led the column up to the second battery, when he halted to receive the captured ammunition, and to learn the strength of the garrison. But as every appearance indicated the evacuation of the barracks, he suspected the enemy of an intention to draw him within range of the shot, and then suddenly to show himself in great force. Lieutenant Riddle was sent forward with his corps of observation, to discover if there were any, and what number of troops, within the garrison. The barracks were three hundred yards distant from the second battery, and whilst this corps was engaged in reconnoitering, General Pike, after removing a wounded prisoner from a dangerous situation, had seated himself upon a stump, and commenced an examination of a British sergeant who had been taken in the woods. Riddle, having discovered that the enemy

had abandoned the garrison, was about to return with this information, when the magazine, which was situated outside the barrack yard, blew up, with a tremendous and awful explosion, passed over Riddle and his party, without injuring one of his men, and killed and wounded General Pike and 260 of the column. The severity of General Pike's wounds disabled him from further service, and the command of the troops devolved upon Colonel Pearce, of the 16th regiment, who sent a demand to the town of York for an immediate surrender. The plan of the contemplated operations was known only to General Pike, and, as General Dearborn had not yet landed, the future movements of the troops would depend upon the will of their new commander. He ordered them immediately to form the column, and to march forward and occupy the barracks, which Major Forsythe, who had been scouring the adjoining wood, had already entered. Meanwhile, the British regulars were retreating across the Don, and destroying the bridges in their rear. After the explosion, Lieutenant Riddle with his party, then reinforced by thirty regulars, under Lieutenant Horrell of the 16th, pursued the enemy's route, and annoyed his retreating guard from the wood. This was the only pursuit which was made.

Colonel Pearce then marched towards the town, which was distant three-quarters of a mile. About half way between York and the garrison, the column was intercepted by several officers of the Canadian militia, who had come out with terms of capitulation. Whilst these were discussing, the enemy was engaged in destroying the military storehouse, and a large vessel of war then on the stocks, and which in three days might have been launched, and added to the American squadron on Ontario.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Americans were in possession of the town, and terms of capitulation were

agreed upon, by which, notwithstanding the severe loss which the army and the nation had sustained by the death of the general; the unwarrantable manner in which that loss was occasioned; and the subtlety with which the militia colonels offered to capitulate at a distance from the town, so that the column might be detained until General Sheaffe should escape, and the destruction of the public property be completed, although one of its articles stipulated for its delivery into the hands of the Americans; the militia and inhabitants were freed from all hardship, and not only their persons and property, but their legislative hall and other public buildings were protected.

In the action, the loss of the American army was trifling; but in consequence of the explosion, it was much greater than the enemy's loss in killed and wounded. Fourteen were killed and 32 wounded in battle, and 38 were killed and 222 wounded by the explosion, so that the total American loss amounted to 320 men. Among those who fell by the explosion, besides the gallant Pike, were seven captains, seven subalterns, one aide-de-camp, one acting aid, and one volunteer aid. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded, amounted to 200—in prisoners 550—fifty of whom were regulars—being altogether 750 men. His wounded were left in the houses on the road leading to, and in the neighbourhood of York, and were attended to by the American army and navy surgeons. The prisoners were all paroled, and the troops withdrawn from York immediately after its capture.

The next event of importance upon this part of the frontier, was the attack on Fort George by the fleet of Commodore Chauncey and the army of General Dearborn.

On the 26th of May, the commodore reconnoitred the position at which the troops were to be landed, and at night sounded the shore, and placed buoys at stations for

the small vessels. The weather, which had been for several days extremely boisterous, now moderated, and it was agreed that a conjoint attack, by the army and navy, should be made on the following morning. A sufficient quantity of boats, to land the troops in the order of attack, had been by this time provided, and a considerable number which had been for several days building at the Five Mile Meadows, above the fort, were now in readiness to be launched into the Niagara river. On the afternoon of the 26th, the enemy, having observed the preparations for launching the boats, opened a small battery, which had been erected immediately opposite the meadows, for the purpose of annoying the workmen and of destroying the boats. The fire from this battery produced a premature cannonade between Forts George and Niagara, which was followed by a bombardment between all the batteries in the neighbourhood of the two forts. The battery which stood directly opposite Fort George, did great injury to that garrison. No block-house, or wooden building of any description, in or near that fort, escaped injury; whilst on the American side, not the most trifling loss was sustained. The boats, in the mean time, succeeded in passing Fort George, and proceeded to the encampment at Four Mile Creek. On the same night, all the artillery, and as many troops as could possibly be accommodated, were put on board the *Madison*, the *Oncida*, and the *Lady of the Lake*. The remainder were to embark in the boats, and to follow the fleet. At three o'clock on the morning of the 27th, signal was made for the fleet to weigh anchor. In consequence of the calmness of the weather, the schooners were obliged to resort to sweeps to attain their positions.

The disposition was skilfully effected, and each vessel was within musket-shot of the shore. At four o'clock, Generals Dearborn and Lewis, with their suites, went on board the *Madison*, and by that hour the troops were all embarked.

The whole number amounted to more than 4000. The batteries were now playing upon each other from the opposite sides of the river, and the troops advanced at intervals in three brigades. The advance was led by Colonel Scott.

When the advance, which consisted of about 500 men, was approaching the point of landing, successive volleys of musketry were poured upon it by 1200 regulars, stationed in a ravine. A brisk exchange of shot was kept up for fifteen minutes, the advance, nevertheless, continuing to approach the enemy without faltering. Such, indeed, was the eagerness of the troops, that officers and men jumped into the lake and waded to the shore. The troops were now formed with celerity, and led to the charge. They drove the enemy from their stronghold, and dispersed them in every direction; some of their forces taking to the wood for shelter, and others retreating to the fort. Few shot were fired from the fort, the panic being instantly communicated to the garrison. Fort Niagara, and its dependent batteries, were still throwing in their shot, and Fort George having become untenable, the enemy hastily laid a train to the magazines, abandoned all their works, and moved off with the utmost precipitation in different routes. Colonel Scott, with his light troops, continued the pursuit, until he was recalled by an order from General Boyd. Lieutenant Riddle had been sent by Colonel Scott with his detached party, to annoy the rear of the enemy, but not being ordered back, at the time when the light troops were recalled, he followed his route to Queenstown, and took up several of his straggling parties. The dragoons, under Colonel Burn, crossed the Niagara river above Fort George, at the moment the pursuit was stopped. The light troops now took possession of Fort George. At twelve o'clock, Newark, and all its surrounding batteries, were in quiet possession of the American army; and such

was the speed with which the enemy retreated, that very few of his troops were overtaken. General Dearborn's forces had been under arms eleven hours, and were said to be too much exhausted to pursue him with as much rapidity as he moved off.

At the time the enemy abandoned his works, the wind had increased so much, and the sea had become so violent towards the shore, that the situation of the fleet at the stations which the different vessels had taken, was thought to be dangerous in the extreme. Commodore Chauncey therefore made signal for the whole fleet to weigh, and to proceed into the river, where they anchored between the Forts George and Niagara. Although the action was fought by inferior numbers on the American side, the advance, and part of Boyd's brigade only being engaged, the loss of the enemy was excessive. He had in killed, 108; in wounded 163; 115 regulars were taken prisoners, exclusive of his wounded, all of whom fell into the hands of the Americans: so that the loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of his regular force, amounted to 366. The militia prisoners who were paroled to the number of 507, being added to their loss, makes a total of 893. The American army lost 39 in killed and 111 in wounded.

The capture of Fort George was one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. The Americans followed up their success. Generals Chandler and Winder inflicted a severe defeat upon the army, under the command of General Vincent, at Stony Creek, and took many prisoners.

In the mean time, Sir George Prevost, with a large body of regulars, made an attempt upon Sackett's Harbour. But General Jacob Brown collected the neighbouring militia, made some skilful dispositions of his small force, and so gallantly repulsed the enemy, that he won a high reputation for military abilities, and was appointed a brigadier in the regular army.

General Dearborn was now compelled by indisposition to retire from the command of the northern army. An unsuccessful attempt of Commodore Chauncey, to bring the British fleet on Lake Ontario to action, and a number of skirmishes followed, but nothing decisive was effected by either of the belligerents.

Events of more importance occurred farther to the northwest. General Harrison extended his defensive arrangements, and enlarged his forces by new requisitions upon the governors of the contiguous state and territory. He was still engaged at his head quarters at Seneca, in fixing the destination of the new troops, as they arrived, and in distributing them throughout the different posts. Fort Meigs was placed in an excellent state for vigorous defence, and active exertions were making to fortify Fort Stephenson. To the entire equipment of the latter, many difficulties presented themselves, and its situation was considered to be so defenceless, that General Harrison directed the commandant to destroy the public property, and immediately to abandon the fort, if the enemy should at any time appear before it. During the month of July, 1813, the assembled tribes of Indian warriors, under Tecumseh, and a considerable force of regulars, under General Proctor, had been well trained for an expedition, the object of which was to reduce Fort Stephenson, and thence to proceed to a second investment of Fort Meigs. Tecumseh was despatched with 2000 warriors and a few regulars, to make a diversion favourable to the attack of Proctor and Dixon, upon Fort Stephenson. He approached Fort Meigs, and kept up a heavy firing at a distance, in order to persuade the garrison that an engagement had taken place between the Indian forces and a part of General Harrison's division. By the arrival at Fort Meigs, of an officer from the head quarters, this scheme was fortunately frustrated; and Te-

cumseh then approached the garrison, and surrounded it with his whole force.

From Seneca Town scouting parties had been sent out in every direction, along the shores of Sandusky Bay, with instructions to keep up a continual communication with the commander-in-chief. On the morning of the 1st of August, he was informed of the approach of the enemy to the mouth of the bay; Fort Stephenson, situated twenty miles above, evidently being their object. Early in the evening, the combined forces, consisting of 700 Indians, under Dixon, and 500 regulars, under General Proctor, who commanded in chief, appeared before the fort. The gunboats, from which they had landed, were at the same time drawn up, to bear upon one of its angles. General Proctor immediately disposed his troops so as to surround the garrison, and entirely to cut off its retreat. His immense superiority of numbers enabled him to invest it so perfectly, that the American troops, whose whole effective force did not amount to 160 men, had no probable prospect of cutting their way through; and Major Croghan, who had been promoted to the command of this post, for his gallant conduct at the siege of Fort Meigs, having already disobeyed the orders of the commander-in-chief, by not destroying and abandoning the fort, had made arrangements to repel an assault, by cutting a deep ditch, and hastily constructing a stockade work around it. A flag was met at a few paces from the garrison, by Ensign Shipp, to whom General Proctor's demand, of an immediate and unconditional surrender, was delivered, and from whom the enemy received Major Croghan's answer, of a determination not to yield, but with the loss of all his men. The enemy then opened his fire from the gunboats, and a five and a half inch howitzer, and continued the cannonade throughout the night. On the morning of the 2d, three six-pounders were discovered to have been planted at a distance of 250 yards from the stockade, and in a few

minutes after, an unsuccessful fire was opened upon the fort. The British general, feeling his inability to annoy the garrison, from the situation in which his artillery was then placed, and being convinced that he could neither make an impression upon the works, nor ever hope to carry them by storm, unless a breach could be made in the north-west angle of the fort, ordered all his guns to be directed at that point. A rapid fire was kept up against it for several hours; but Major Croghan, being aware of his design, detached as many men as could be usefully employed, to strengthen that angle; by means of bags of sand, of flour, and other articles, it was effectually secured. Under a supposition that his fire had shattered the stockade work, which was not at all injured, General Proctor ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Short to lead up a close column of 350 regulars, of the 41st regiment, to storm the fort at that point, whilst a second column should make a feint upon that part of the American line, which was commanded by Captain Hunter, of the 17th. This attempt to draw the attention of the garrison from the north-west angle, did not succeed. The troops posted there were ordered to remain firm; and, when the column, which was advancing against them, had approached within twenty paces of the lines, before which time it was so completely enveloped in smoke as not to be observed, they opened a heavy and galling fire, threw the advancing party in confusion, and intimidated that which was reserved for the attack on the other angle of the fort. The British battery, which was then enlarged by two other six-pounders, was again opened, and sustained the advance of the two columns, by an incessant, though equally unsuccessful fire as the former. Colonel Short, rallying his men with great alacrity, again led them up, advanced to the stockade, and springing over the pickets into the ditch, commanded the whole column to follow, and assault the works with the utmost vigour, but to give *no quarter* to any of the American soldiers.

At the north-western angle stood a block-house, in which a six pounder had been heretofore judiciously concealed. It was at this instant opened, and having previously been pointed so as to rake in that situation, a double charge of leaden slugs was fired into the ditch, and sweeping the whole column, the front of which was only thirty feet distant from the piece, killed Colonel Short, and almost every man who had ventured to obey his order. A volley of musketry was fired at the same time, and great numbers of the enemy who had not yet entered the ditch, were severely wounded. The officer who succeeded Colonel Short in the command of the broken column, immediately rallied and formed it anew, and led it on to the same fatal point. A second fire from the destructive six-pounder was poured upon it with as much success as the first; and the small arms were discharged so briskly, that the enemy's troops were again thrown into confusion, and not all the exertions of the British officers could bring them up to another assault. They fled precipitately to an adjoining wood, and were very soon followed by the Indians. In a few minutes the firing entirely ceased: and an army much more than ten times superior to a small garrison, was compelled to relinquish an attack, the successful issue of which was not at all doubted by any one of its officers.

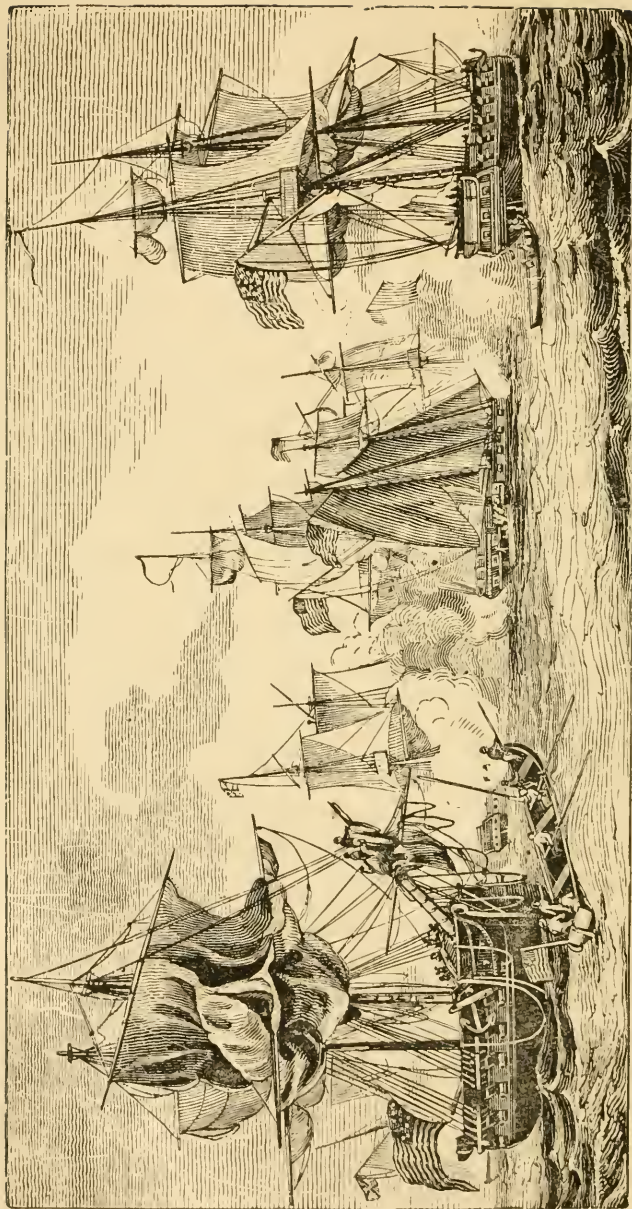
On the morning of the 3d, the gunboats and transports sailed down the bay, and guards of soldiers were immediately afterwards sent out to collect and bring into the fort all the wounded, and to bury the enemy's dead with the honours to which, by their rank, they were entitled. Seventy stand of arms, several braces of pistols, and a boat containing much clothing and military stores, which had been left in the hurry of the enemy's flight, were then taken. The loss of the assailants was reported to have been not less than 150; that of the garrison, was one killed, and seven slightly wounded.

The American fleet on Lake Erie, having been completed, and, with great difficulty, passed over the bar, a principal part of the crew of each vessel being made up of Pennsylvania militia, who had volunteered to go on an expedition, sailed on a short cruise, for the purpose of training the guns, and of exercising the sailors. In the latter part of August, Commodore Perry proceeded to the mouth of Sandusky river, to co-operate with General Harrison. At this place, about seventy volunteer marines were received on board, and the fleet sailed in quest of the British squadron. The latter was, at that time, near Malden, before which place Commodore Perry appeared, and after reconnoitring the enemy, he retired to Put-in-bay, a distance of thirty miles, in hopes of drawing out his antagonist.

On the morning of the 10th of September, of the same year, 1813, the enemy was discovered, bearing down upon the American squadron, which immediately got under weigh, and stood out to meet him. The superiority of force was greatly in favour of the British, though they had not an equal number of vessels. Their crews were larger, and the length and number of their guns greater, than those of the American squadron.

When the American fleet stood out, the British fleet had the weather-gage; but at 10 o'clock, A. M., the wind shifted, and brought the American to windward. The line of battle was formed at 11; and at 15 minutes before 12, the enemy's flag ship, and the Queen Charlotte, opened upon the Lawrence a heavy and effectual fire, which she was obliged to sustain upwards of ten minutes, without a possibility of returning it, in consequence of her battery being of carronades. She nevertheless continued to bear up, and having given a signal for the other vessels to support her, at a few minutes before 12 opened her fire upon the enemy. The wind being too light to assist the remainder of the squadron in coming up, the Lawrence was compelled to

fight the enemy's heaviest vessels upwards of two hours. The crew were not at all depressed; their animation increased, as the desperation of the fight became greater, and the guns were worked with as much coolness and precision, as if they had been in the act of training only. The slaughter on board the brig was almost unparalleled, the rigging very much injured, and the braces entirely shot away; and at length, after every gun had been rendered useless, she became quite unmanageable. Her loss already amounted to twenty-two killed, and sixty-one wounded; when the commodore, seeing that she must very soon strike, if the other vessels were not brought up, gave the command of the Lawrence to Lieutenant Yarnall, and jumping into a boat, ordered it to be steered for the Niagara, to which vessel he had determined to shift his flag. In passing from the Lawrence to the Niagara, he stood up, waving his sword, and gallantly cheering his men, under a shower of balls. He gained the Niagara, unhurt, at the moment the flag of the Lawrence came down; and the wind having at that instant increased, he brought her into action, and at 45 minutes past 2 gave signal for the whole fleet to close. All the vessels were now engaged, but as the superiority of the enemy had been increased by the loss of the Lawrence, the commodore determined on piercing his line with the Niagara. He therefore resolutely bore up, and passing ahead of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Lady Prevost, poured a galling and destructive fire into each from his starboard side, and into the Chippewa and Little Belt, from his larboard. He was then within half pistol shot, and as he cut through the line, the commander of the Lady Prevost, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself at the battle of the Nile, received a musket ball in his face, and the crew being unable to stand the fire, immediately ran below. At this moment the Caledonia was struggling to get closer into the action, and her commander, Lieutenant Turner, ordered



BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE.

her guns to be fired through the foresail, which interfered between him and the enemy, rather than lose the chance of a full share in the combat, and was only prevented from attempting to board the *Detroit*, by the prudent refusal of the officer of another small vessel to assist him.

The action was now raging with its utmost violence; every broadside fired with the most exact precision, and the result of the conflict altogether uncertain. In addition to the loss of the *Lawrence's* guns, one of the *Ariel's* had burst, and the enemy had then the superiority of thirty-four guns. This doubtful aspect, however, soon after changed. The *Queen Charlotte* had lost her captain, and all her principal officers, and having, by some mischance, run foul of the *Detroit*, most of the guns of both vessels became useless. In this situation, advantage of which was immediately taken by Commodore Perry, they were compelled to sustain, in turn, an incessant fire from the *Niagara*, and other vessels of the American squadron. The British commodore's flag was soon after struck, and those of the *Queen Charlotte*, the *Lady Prevost*, the *Hunter*, and the *Chippewa*, came down in immediate succession. The whole fleet surrendered to the inferior squadron, with the exception of the *Little Belt*, which attempted to escape, but was pursued by two of the gunboats, and captured at a distance of three miles from the squadron.

Thus, after an action of three hours, in which the individual gallantry of either fleet had never been surpassed by any naval event now to be found on the record of history, was the entire command of this important lake yielded to the American arms.

The number of killed and wounded in both fleets was excessively great. Commodore Barclay was wounded in the hip, and lost the use of his right arm: the other had been shot off in a former action. The loss on board his

squadron exceeded 200. The American loss amounted to twenty-seven killed, and ninety-six wounded. The captured vessels were convoyed to the bay of Sandusky, and the prisoners, 600 in number, conducted to Chilicothe. Among these, were a few companies of the British 41st regiment, who had been taken on board to act as marines.

The result of this brilliant conflict was immediately followed by active and extensive preparations for the expulsion of the enemy from Detroit, the entire subjugation of Malden, and the overthrow of General Proctor's army. Governor Meigs had made a call upon the militia of Ohio, as soon as he was informed of the attack upon Fort Stephenson, and upwards of 15,000 volunteers were very soon under arms. Many of these were not yet discharged, and General Harrison now required a proportion of them. At the mouth of Portage river, he intended that his whole army should be concentrated; and between that point and Sandusky Bay, he caused fences of logs to be constructed for the protection of the horses and baggage. The governor of Kentucky, Isaac Shelby, arrived at the new headquarters of the army on the 17th of September, with 4000 well mounted volunteers. The works at Fort Meigs being reduced and garrisoned by a few men, General M'Arthur marched from that post with his brigade, and joined the main body also. Thus strengthened, General Harrison determined on invading the enemy's shores; and at the dawn of the 21st he ordered his forces to embark at the mouth of the river, and to rendezvous at the different islands which lay in clusters between Malden and the point of embarkation. To Colonel Johnson, who commanded a Kentucky mounted regiment at Fort Meigs, he gave orders to proceed to Detroit by land; arrangements having been first made, by which that officer and the commander-in-chief were to be informed of each other's progress by daily expresses.

On the 27th the troops were received on board the fleet, now enlarged by the captured vessels. They were embarked at a small island, about twenty miles from Malden, called the Eastern Sister, and one of two islands to which the names of the Sisters had been given. In the afternoon of the same day the fleet, which was composed of sixteen vessels of war and upwards of one hundred boats, arrived at a point three miles below Malden. Here the troops were landed in good order, and with perfect silence, and proceeded thence to Amherstburg.

The British general, well aware that the American commander would early avail himself of the advantages lately gained by the capture of the fleet, had made preparations to retire into the interior of Canada, to a place of better security than Malden. He was apprised by his *estafette* of the approach of General Harrison, and having first set fire to the fort, and destroyed every article of public property, he ordered his forces, which were still composed of British regulars, and Tecumseh and Dixon's Indians, to retreat towards the Thames, and thence along its course to the Moravian Towns. The fort, the barracks, and other public buildings, were still smoking, when the American army entered Amherstburg, and a number of females came out to implore protection from its commander. They received it.

On the 28th, the army crossed La Rivière aux Canards, the bridge over which the enemy had not stopped to destroy, and arrived at Sandwich on the following day, the fleet moving at the same time through the river Detroit to that place. Governor Shelby's command then occupied the point at which the first invasion of Canada had been attempted, whilst the remainder of the army crossed over to the delivery of the town of Detroit out of the possession of the British Indians, who immediately abandoned the garrison, and retreated in different directions. General

Harrison, knowing that large numbers of warriors, under Split-Log, were collecting in the woods near Huron of Lake St. Clair, directing General M'Arthur to remain with most of the regulars, in the occupation of Detroit, whilst he would pursue the army of General Proctor up the Thames.

The commander-in-chief, on the 2d of October, pursued the enemy's route. Such was the rapidity of his movement, that he encamped in the evening of the same day at the river Riscum, a distance of twenty-six miles from Sandwich. Early on the morning of the 3d, he resumed his march, and proceeded in the advance with Johnson's regiment, in order to secure the bridges on the rivers tributary to Lake St. Clair. By the capture of a lieutenant of dragoons and eleven privates, who had been left in General Proctor's rear, with orders to take up every bridge, by which the approach of Harrison's army could possibly be facilitated, one bridge was saved, and the American general learned that the enemy had no "certain information of his advances up the Thames."

On the morning of the 4th, the army again proceeded on its route, and having reached Chatham, 17 miles from Lake St. Clair, found its progress obstructed by a deep and unfordable creek, the bridge of which had been partially destroyed by a body of Indians, who now made their appearance, and fired on the front guard. They had taken a position on the opposite side of the creek, and flanked the American army on the right bank of the river. General Harrison made immediate arrangements to disperse or capture them. Colonel Johnson was already stationed on the right of the line, and had seized the ruins of another bridge, under a smart fire from the Indians on that flank. Major Wood was directed to bring up his artillery, and cover the pioneers, who were repairing the first bridge. This he did with unexpected success. The Indians could not withstand the heavy discharges of artillery, and they therefore retired

without much regard to the order of their retreat. The bridge was quickly repaired, and the army, having first extinguished the flames of a farmhouse, which had been fired by the Indians, and captured from it 2000 stand of arms and a quantity of clothing, crossed over the creek, pursued the enemy four miles up the river, annoyed his rear guard, and took from him several pieces of cannon.

On the 5th, the pursuit was eagerly renewed, and attended by the capture of two gunboats, and several barges, loaded with provisions and ammunition. Having attained the ground on which the enemy had encamped the night before, the commander-in-chief directed Colonel Johnson to hasten the march of his advance guard, and to send forward an officer to reconnoitre the situation of the combined British and Indian forces. This officer very soon after returned with intelligence that the enemy were prepared for action, in an open ground, within four miles of the American main body. The road upon which General Harrison was then marching, entered a thick and extensive forest on the beach. A short distance from the bank of the Thames, was a miry swamp, which extended to the Moravian Town, and between this swamp and the river, was a level plain, through which, because of the thick underwood in the forest, the army would be obliged to make its approaches. Across this plain the British line was drawn up, with its left resting on the river, supported by the greater proportion of their artillery, its centre being protected by two heavy pieces, and its strength, in regulars, amounting to 600: 1200 Indians were formed along the margin of the swamp.

When General Harrison had come up with the main body, and was advised of the advantageous situation of the enemy, he ordered Colonel Paul, with 150 regulars, to occupy a space between the road and the river; to advance upon, and divert the enemy, and on an opportunity, to

seize the cannon which defended his left flank. Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnson was directed to form Major Payne's battalion of the mounted regiment, and Major Suggett's three spy companies, into six charging columns, immediately in front of the British line of regulars and an Indian flank: whilst General Henny's division of infantry should be stationed for his support in his rear. Colonel Richard M. Johnson was charged with the formation of another battalion in front of the Indians that were arrayed on the margin of the swamp. He accordingly dismounted one company, under command of Captain Stucker, with which he stretched a line in face of the Indians, and ordered Major Thompson to form the remaining four companies, on horseback, into two charging columns of double files, immediately in the rear of the line on foot. The left of this battalion was supported by the infantry of General Desha.

Thus disposed, with the main army in their rear, these divisions moved forward to the attack. The British gave the first fire, upon which the charge was quickly ordered, and in a few moments the enemy's line was pierced by upwards of 1000 horsemen, who, dashing through the British regulars with irresistible speed, either trampled under foot, or cut down every soldier who opposed them; and having killed and wounded upwards of fifty, at one charge, instantly formed in their rear, and repeated the attack. Such was the panic which pervaded the whole line of the enemy, that an order which had been issued to fix bayonet, was not attempted to be executed; and in a little while, Colonels Evans, Warburton, and Baubee, and Majors Muir and Chambers, surrendered with 472 prisoners. The charge had no sooner been made, than General Proctor, fearing the consequences of his conduct in Michigan, if he should be taken in this battle, abandoned his command, and made his escape in a carriage, under a strong escort of dragoons.

Whilst this brilliant charge was making on the right, the

action was raging with great violence on the left. Between the Indians there, and the mounted men and infantry drawn up against them, it was longer and more obstinately contended. The Indians were commanded by Tecumseh, who fought with more than his accustomed skill, and having posted his warriors in the best possible situations to repulse an attack, he indicated his willingness to receive the assault of the American cavalry. Colonel Johnson, who saw that the Indians would dispute the ground with more bravery than the British regulars, placed himself at the head of his battalion, and led it up to a vigorous charge upon Tecumseh's flank. That chief at the same moment dealt out a tremendous fire, which, though severe in its effect, did not retard the movement of the advancing columns. But the difficulty of penetrating the thicket and swamp, threw an impediment in the way of a successful result to an onset with dragoons, and the attempt to break the Indian line in consequence failed. An engagement immediately took place, however, in which, after exchanging several rounds with Tecumseh's band, Colonel Johnson ordered both his columns to dismount, and leading them up a second time, he made a desperate but successful effort to break through the Indians. Having gained the rear of their line, his next order directed his men to fight them in their own mode. The contest became now more obstinate. Notwithstanding their line had been thus pierced, and their warriors were falling in considerable numbers, the Indians did not think themselves yet discomfited, and quickly collecting their principal strength upon the right, they made an attempt to penetrate the line of infantry under General Desha. In this they partially succeeded, a part of that line having faltered, when Governor Shelby brought up three companies of his volunteers to its support, and in turn threw back the Indians. Tecumseh was killed, and Colonel Johnson disabled.

The wounded colonel being then removed from the field, the command of that battalion devolved on Major Thompson, who continued to fight the whole body of the Indians more than an hour, and eventually put them to flight. In their attempt to gain the village through the level plain, they were pursued, and numbers of them cut down by the cavalry.

The Americans being now masters of the field, their gallant commander, who had been in every part of the action, directed the wounded officers and men of both armies to be taken care of, and the trophies of the victory to be collected and conveyed to the squadron. Among these were several pieces of brass cannon, which had been taken from Burgoyne at Saratoga in the struggle for the independence of the states, and surrendered again by General Hull, thirty-five years afterwards, at Detroit.

In the battle of the Thames, the number of Americans engaged did not exceed 1400. The nature of the ground rendered an operation by the whole force impracticable, and the main body therefore formed a corps of reserve. They sustained a loss of fifty in killed and wounded. The enemy lost in regulars alone upwards of ninety killed, and about the same number wounded, and surrendered in all 600 persons. Among the Indians, 120 were killed, including their brave but ambitious and inveterate leader.

A squadron of horse, which had been ordered in pursuit of Proctor immediately after his flight, returned to General Harrison with the baggage and private papers of the British commander, which they had taken within 100 yards of his escort. By the speed of his horses and his knowledge of the country, he successfully eluded his pursuers.

The result of this victory was highly advantageous, not only to the operations of the army below, but to all the north-western territories, some of whose inhabitants were released from the restraint of a conquered people, and had

now a favourable prospect of future tranquillity. By this event, the whole British force in that part of Canada was destroyed, the association with each other of the different tribes hostile to the United States prevented, and their reunion with the enemy entirely cut off. By the fall of the Shawanee chief, the Americans were disencumbered of their most powerful, inveterate, and experienced Indian enemy; and a sudden check was given to the spirit of barbarian enterprise, to which that frontier had hitherto been subject.

On the day following that on which the battle of the Thames was fought, General Harrison destroyed the Moravian Town, and commenced his march for Detroit, where he negotiated terms of peace with other tribes, and received a flag from General Proctor, accompanied by a request that humane treatment might be extended to the British prisoners. This request had been anticipated by the American general, who had already given up the simple comforts of his own tent to the wounded British colonels, and had instructed his troops before the battle, that the person of *even General Proctor* should be respected, if, by the fortune of the day, it should be thrown into their hands.

General Wilkinson, who had succeeded to the command of the northern army, had established his head quarters at Fort George. The war department having been removed to the frontier, Secretary Armstrong and General Wilkinson concerted a plan of operations on the St. Lawrence. A descent on Montreal was agreed upon. By the 23d of October, the force concentrated at Grenadier Island amounted to about 8000 men. Early in November, they proceeded down the St. Lawrence, encountering considerable resistance, but advancing steadily. A portion of the troops were landed. On the 11th of November, these met the enemy at Chrystler's Fields, and a brisk engagement ensued. Both parties retired, and both claimed the victory, although the British suffered most severely. The Americans then

continued their route. But soon afterwards General Wilkinson received a letter, informing him that General Hampton could not join him at St. Regis, the appointed rendezvous; and then a council of war decided that the expedition ought to be abandoned. General Hampton had led a considerable force to the St. Lawrence by another route; but had met such obstacles that he was compelled to retire.

General M'Clure had been left by Wilkinson in command at Fort George. Believing the post untenable, he destroyed the town of Newark, rendered the guns of the fort useless, and then evacuated it for the purpose of retiring to Fort Niagara. In the mean time, however, Colonel Murray, with a British detachment, surprised and captured Fort Niagara. But the enemy could not retain any other positions in the vicinity.

The campaign of 1813, in the north, was now drawn to its close; and though the American arms had attained a high degree of reputation, no one advantage was obtained, to atone for the blood and treasure which had already been exhausted. The capital of Upper Canada had been taken. It was scarcely captured before it was abandoned. The bulwark of the province, Fort George, had been gallantly carried; but an inferior foe was suffered to escape, after being beaten; and the conquerors were soon after confined to the works of the garrison, and closely invested upwards of six months. The long-contemplated attack upon Montreal was frustrated; Kingston still remained a safe and advantageous harbour in the hands of the enemy; and a fortress which might have been long and obstinately and effectually defended, was yielded, with scarcely a struggle, and under circumstances mysterious in the extreme, to the retaliating invaders of the American Niagara frontier. In the course of the summer of 1813, the American army possessed every position

between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, on both sides of the Niagara. In the winter of the same year, after having gradually lost their possessions on the British side of that stream, they were deprived of their possessions on their own.

While these events were occurring upon land, others of almost equal importance took place along the seaboard and upon the ocean. As soon as the war had been declared, the British government had prepared to blockade the principal bays and rivers of the United States. Incensed at the successes of the American naval arms over the frigates and sloops-of-war of their nation, they hastened the departure of their different fleets; and, in retaliation for the invasion of their provinces by the American troops, instructed their commanders to burn and otherwise to destroy, not only the coasting and river craft, but the towns and villages on the navigable inlets; and more particularly in the southern departments of the union. Early in the spring of 1813, detachments of these fleets arrived at the mouth of the Delaware, and at the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay. Others were to rendezvous at Bermuda, and thence to proceed to the reinforcement of the blockading squadrons.

In the Delaware Bay, a large number of trading vessels were destroyed, and the crews of the British vessels had frequent skirmishes with the inhabitants of Delaware and New Jersey. The Americans had flotillas of gunboats in their principal bays; and these had several severe combats with the British men-of-war, in which the latter were the greatest sufferers. In the Chesapeake, the blockading squadron destroyed a vast amount of property, but the invaders met with many severe repulses. In Hampton Roads, the British frigates were attacked by a number of gunboats, commanded by Captain Tarbell, and kept at bay, while some troops that landed were repulsed with loss. The

British fleets were under the command of Admirals Warren and Cockburn.

Upon the ocean, the Americans achieved some brilliant successes, but met with one severe reverse. The sloop-of-war *Hornet*, Captain James Lawrence, after a profitable cruise, fell in with the British brig *Peacock*, Captain Peake, early in February, 1814, and captured her, after an action of about fifteen minutes. Soon after her surrender, the *Peacock* sunk, carrying down thirteen of her own, and three of the *Hornet's* crew.

Returning to port, Captain Lawrence was transferred to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, which vessel was immediately equipped for a cruise. During the month of May, the British frigate, *Shannon*, appeared off the harbour of Boston, and her commander, Captain Broke, sent a challenge to Lawrence. Although the *Chesapeake* had a new and rather mutinous crew, her gallant captain accepted the challenge, sailed out on the 10th of June, and encountered the enemy. A close and bloody action ensued. Lawrence was mortally wounded, nearly all his officers killed or wounded, and a large number of his men disabled; and then the British took possession of the ship. This victory excited much exultation among the British, but did not depress the spirits of the Americans. Besides these single combats on the deep, the American privateers swept the seas, and inflicted a vast amount of injury upon the commerce of the enemy. About 700 vessels were taken by them during the years 1812 and 1813.

The army of General Wilkinson went into winter quarters in the latter part of 1813; the right division being at Champlain, and the left at French Mills. In the month of February, 1814, the British made an attempt on the latter post, but were compelled to retire. Early in March, General Wilkinson attempted to establish a post at La Colle, but, after losing 150 men, he gave up his design. In

the mean time, both belligerents had prepared naval forces to contend for the mastery on Lake Champlain, and a severe struggle in that quarter was anticipated.

On the 8th of March, 1813, the Russian minister at Washington, had communicated to President Madison an offer of the Czar Alexander, to mediate between the United States and Great Britain. Accepting the offer, the president appointed Messrs. Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams, and James A. Bayard, as commissioners to negotiate. Henry Clay and Jonathan Russel were afterwards added to the commission. The British government consented to negotiate, and Ghent, in Belgium, was fixed upon as the place of meeting.

To retrieve the disastrous consequences of the last northern campaign; to regain the possession of the posts in Canada, which had been obtained by conquest, and lost by the inefficacy of the means provided to retain them; to drive the enemy from the occupancy of the American garrison at the mouth of the Niagara; and to command the frontiers on both sides of that stream; various plans had been projected, numerous dispositions made, and measures were finally adopted for their achievement. To this end, General Brown, now elevated to the rank of Major-General, was ordered to assemble and organize a division of the army at and in the neighbourhood of Black Rock and Buffalo. This division consisted of two brigades of regulars, the first commander by Brigadier-General Scott, formerly of the 2d artillery, and the second by Brigadier-General Ripley, formerly of the 21st infantry. To these were added a brigade of New York volunteers, and a few Indians, under Brigadiers-General Porter and Swift. During the months of April, May, and June (1814), the concentration of this force was effected, and the principal part of that time employed in its discipline.

The British army in Upper Canada was placed under the

command of General Drummond; the force immediately opposed to the Americans was commanded by General Riall.

On the 3d of July, General Scott, with 3000 men, crossed the Niagara, and captured Fort Erie. General Riall was then intrenched at Chippewa. Brown determined to drive him from that post, and put his forces in motion for that purpose. On the 5th, General Scott, who commanded the advanced brigade, attacked the enemy, and a fierce engagement ensued. The British were driven from the field, having suffered a loss of 500 men. The loss of the Americans was 338 men. On the 20th of July, the belligerent armies again met at Lundy's Lane, where was fought the most obstinate and sanguinary battle that had occurred during the war. The British forces were superior in numbers—amounting to 5000 men, while the Americans numbered 4000. Each army lost about 900 men, and the Americans remained in possession of the field. Generals Brown and Scott being disabled by severe wounds, the command devolved on Ripley, who retired to Fort Erie. Soon afterwards, General Gaines arrived and assumed the command.

On the 15th of August, General Drummond attacked Fort Erie; but the post was gallantly defended, and the enemy were compelled to retire, having lost a thousand men. On the 17th, General Brown, having sufficiently recovered to resume the command of the forces, made a sortie from Fort Erie, killed, wounded, or captured about a thousand of the enemy, and compelled them to retire to Fort George. In November, Fort Erie was abandoned and demolished, and the Americans retired to Buffalo and its neighbourhood for winter quarters.

During the month of August, Sir George Prevost had concentrated about 14,000 British regulars in Lower Canada for a descent on Plattsburg and other posts on Lake Champlain. The British fleet upon the lake, which was to co-





BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE.

D. C. SY DEL

operate, was commanded by Commodore Downie, and consisted of four armed vessels and thirteen gunboats. The Americans prepared for resistance by concentrating a large force at Plattsburg under the command of General Macomb, and throwing up rude defences, and by preparing a fleet on the lake, consisting of four armed vessels and ten gunboats and galleys, under the command of Commodore Macdonough. Sir George Prevost arrived before Plattsburg on the 6th of September, and on the 11th a combined attack was made upon land and lake. After a fierce engagement of two hours, Macdonough silenced the guns of the enemy's fleet, captured the larger vessels, sunk some others, and put the rest to flight. Upon land the British attacked the defences of the Americans, but were repulsed. The whole army retreated during the night, having sustained a total loss of 2500 men. Macomb and Macdonough gained great honour by this victory.

In the mean time, events of great importance occurred in the Chesapeake. On the 19th of August, a British army of 5000 men, under General Ross, landed on the Patuxent and commenced a march toward Washington city. The American flotilla under Commodore Barney was abandoned and burnt. Advancing by the way of Bladensburg, the British army was met by a small body of seamen and marines, but the latter were soon overpowered, and the commodore taken prisoner. The enemy then proceeded to Washington, and on the 24th burnt the capitol, the president's house, and other public buildings, after which they retreated to their ships. There were a few regular troops, under General Winder, and some militia regiments, in the vicinity of Washington, but they made but a feeble resistance to the British army, and soon fled. The president, and the secretaries of state, war, and the navy, were in the camp, and narrowly escaped capture by a timely flight. A British squadron had in the mean time ascended the

Potomac, and on the 29th appeared before Alexandria, and as that city was destitute of any means of defence, the inhabitants were compelled to ransom the place by giving up to the enemy the merchandise on sale in the city, and the shipping at the wharves. General Ross, after his return to the British fleet with his troops, resolved to lead them to an attack upon Baltimore. But the citizens of that place made extensive preparations for a defence, and the militia of the city and vicinity, forming an army of 15,000 men, were placed under arms, to meet the enemy. The British fleet passed up the Patapsco and bombarded Fort M'Henry, and the army was landed at North Point, fourteen miles below Baltimore. Being repulsed in their attack upon Fort M'Henry, and having lost their commander, General Ross, who was killed in a skirmish with a part of the American troops, the British retired to their ships on the 14th of September, and soon after left the Chesapeake.*

The loss of Washington had been a depressing blow to the Americans; but the successful defence of Plattsburg and Baltimore dispelled the gloom and caused a general exultation.

British squadrons kept the coast of New England in continual alarm. Attacks were made upon New London and Stonington, and a great deal of property was destroyed. But the militia of the towns and the neighbouring country prevented any formidable invasion of the territory near the coast. On the ocean, the Americans continued successful till the end of the war. The only reverse sustained was the capture of the hitherto successful frigate *Essex*, Captain Porter, after a desperate struggle, by the two British vessels, the frigate *Phoebe* and the sloop-of-war *Cherub*. The United States sloop-of-war *Peacock* captured the enemy's sloop-of-war *Epervier* in the Gulf of Mexico, and the sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Blakeley, captured the vessels *Reindeer*

* Statesman's Manual.

and Avon, of equal force with herself, in succession. Other victories were gained upon the sea of more importance. In February, 1815, the *Constitution*, Captain Stewart, captured at the same time, the British men-of-war *Cyane* and *Levant*, off the Island of Madeira. In March, the *Hornet* gained the crowning naval victory of the war, by capturing the *Penguin*, off the coast of Brazil.

The last conflict of importance upon land during the war, occurred at the south-western extremity of the Union, in the defence of New Orleans. Early in the autumn of 1814, information had been received by the American government that the enemy contemplated sending a powerful expedition against Louisiana. Mr. Monroe, who had become acting secretary of war, immediately hastened preparations to meet the attack. General Andrew Jackson, who had gained much military renown by the overthrow of the Creek Indians during the war, had command at New Orleans. With wonderful energy and decision he collected forces and prepared the city for defence. In the latter part of December, about 14,000 British soldiers, veterans of the Peninsular wars, under the command of General Packenham, arrived off the mouth of the Mississippi, and soon effected a landing. General Jackson attacked the enemy on the night of the 23d of December, and inflicted considerable injury upon them. The decisive engagement took place on the 8th of January, when the British army advanced to the assault. They suffered a dreadful repulse. General Packenham was among the slain, and Generals Gibbs and Keene, next in command, were disabled. About 2000 men were killed, wounded, or captured by the Americans, who only suffered a loss of seven killed and six wounded. Soon afterwards the British retreated to their fleet.

In the mean time, a treaty of peace had been concluded at Ghent (December 24th, 1814). The news arrived in February, 1815, while the nation was still exulting over

the victory of New Orleans. The treaty was immediately ratified by the Senate. On the subject of impressment, the document was silent, and commercial regulations between England and America were referred to future negotiations. Although the contest had been concluded in triumph, the administration and the nation rejoiced at the return of peace. Difficulties had thickened around the government. In the New England States the opposition had become so powerful as to threaten a dissolution of the Union. The "Hartford Convention," held at the close of the year 1814, was known to have given moral "aid and comfort" to the enemies of the country, and the president and his friends were glad that the clamours of that sectional party were silenced.

When the war was at an end, the currency and the public credit were so deranged that the secretary of the treasury recommended, as a necessary measure, the establishment of a national bank. Mr. Madison had been opposed to this measure from the first. The bill establishing the bank was passed by Congress in January, 1815; but the president vetoed it. In April, of the next year, however, the president sanctioned the creation of this great financial agent, and it went into operation. In the mean time, the army was reduced to a peace establishment of ten thousand men, an act passed to keep up a naval establishment, and direct taxes were continued. The honour of the country was sustained, and its commerce protected by a squadron in the Mediterranean. Treaties of friendship with the Indians, and the admission of Indiana into the Union, were the chief events of the remainder of Mr. Madison's administration, which ended on the 3d of March, 1817.

Mr. Madison retired to his estate at Montpelier, Virginia, where passed the remainder of his days. In 1829, he was chosen a member of the convention to revise the

constitution of Virginia, and for several years he acted as rector of the University of Virginia. Enjoying the society of a large number of distinguished friends, he lived to the advanced age of 85, and closed his career on the 28th of June, 1836.

Mr. Madison was of small stature, and rather corpulent. His countenance was calm, dignified, and intelligent. His manner was extremely modest, and he never completely conquered a certain diffidence of speech. As an orator he did not attain a high rank, though undoubtedly a formidable debater. As a writer, he has had no superior among American statesmen.



BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

JAMES MONROE.

JAMES MONROE is remembered by his countrymen as a brave soldier of the revolution, a keen diplomatist, an energetic war minister, and the conductor of two successful administrations. The devotion of the patriot and the foresight and energy of the statesman cannot be denied him, although it is agreed that he did not possess the brilliant qualities of such men as Washington, Jefferson, and Adams. His life is interesting and instructive, as extending over an eventful period, and as showing what prudence and energy may accomplish.

James Monroe was born of an ancient and honourable family, in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, on the 2d of April, 1759. He was six years of age when the Stamp Act was passed, and his early youth was spent amid the exciting events that led to the revolution. He was sent to William and Mary College. When he had reached his eighteenth year, the war had begun; gloom had settled upon the affairs of America—but the Declaration of Independence had been issued. Fired with patriotic zeal, Monroe left college, and joined the army of Washington, determined to share the fate of his country.

Mr. Monroe commenced his military career, as his country did that of her independence, with adversity. He joined her standard when others were deserting it. He repaired to the head quarters of Washington, at New York, precisely at the time when Britain was pouring her thou-



sands of native and foreign mercenaries upon our shores; when, in proportion as the battalions of invading armies thickened and multiplied, those of the heroic chieftain of our defence were dwindling to the verge of dissolution. When the disastrous days of Flatbush, Harlem Heights and White Plains, were followed by the successive evacuation of Long Island and New York, the surrender of Fort Washington, and the retreat through the Jerseys; till on the day devoted to celebrate the birth of the Saviour of mankind, of the same year on which Independence was proclaimed, Washington, with the houseless heads, and unshod feet, of three thousand new and undisciplined levies, stood on the western bank of the Delaware, to contend in arms with the British Lion, and to baffle the skill and energy of the chosen champions of Britain, with ten times the number of his shivering and emaciate host; the stream of the Delaware forming the only barrier between the proud array of 30,000 veteran Britons, and the scanty remnant of his dissolving band. Then it was that the glorious leader of our forces struck the blow which decided the issue of the war. Then it was that the myriads of Britain's warriors were arrested in their career of victory, by the hundreds of our gallant defenders, as the sling of the shepherd of Israel prostrated the Philistine, who defied the armies of the living God. And in this career both of adverse and of prosperous fortune, James Monroe was one of that little Spartan band, scarcely more numerous, though in the event more prosperous, than they who fell at Thermopylæ. At the Heights of Harlem, at the White Plains, at Trenton he was present, and in leading the vanguard, at Trenton, received a ball, which sealed his patriotic devotion to his country's freedom with his blood. The superintending Providence which had decreed that on that, and a swiftly succeeding day, Mercer, and Haselet, and Porter, and Neal, and Fleming, and Shippen, should join the roll of warlike

dead, martyrs to the cause of liberty, reserved Monroe for higher services, and for a long and illustrious career, in war and in peace.

Recovered from his wound, and promoted in rank, as a reward for his gallantry and suffering in the field, he soon returned to the army, and served in the character of aide-de-camp to Lord Sterling, through the campaigns of 1777 and 1778; during which, he was present and distinguished in the actions of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. But, having by this been superseded in his lineal rank in the army, he withdrew from it, and failing, from the exhausted state of the country, in the effort to raise a regiment, for which, at the recommendation of Washington, he had been authorized by the legislature of Virginia, he resumed the study of the law, under the friendly direction of the illustrious Jefferson, then governor of that commonwealth. In the succeeding years, he served occasionally as a volunteer, in defence of the state, against the distressing invasions with which it was visited, and once, after the fall of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1780, at the request of Governor Jefferson, repaired, as a military commissioner, to collect and report information with regard to the condition and prospects of the southern army and states; a trust which he discharged to the entire satisfaction of the governor and executive, by whom it had been committed to him.

In 1782, he was elected a member of the legislature of Virginia, and, by them, a member of the executive council. On the 9th of June, 1783, he was chosen a member of the Congress of the United States; and, on the thirteenth of December, of the same year, took his seat in that body, at Annapolis, where his first act was, to sit as one of those representatives of the nation into whose hands the victorious leader of the American armies surrendered his commission. Mr. Monroe was now twenty-four years of age,

and had already performed that, in the service of his country, which would have sufficed for the illustration of an ordinary life.*

From 1783 to 1786, Mr. Monroe continued a member of the Confederate Congress, and had continual opportunity for observing the utter inefficiency of that compact for the preservation and welfare of the union. He took an active part in bringing about the convention that framed the federal constitution.

On the 18th of April, 1783, the resolution of Congress had passed, declaring it absolutely necessary that they should be vested with a power to levy an impost of five per cent. On the 13th of April, 1784, another resolution was adopted, recommending to the legislatures of the states to grant to Congress the power of regulating commerce. And on the 13th of July, 1785, Congress debated the report of a committee of which Mr. Monroe was the chairman, combining the objects of both those prior resolutions, and proposing such alteration of the Articles of the Confederation, as was necessary to vest Congress with the power both to regulate commerce, and to levy an impost duty. These measures were not abortive, inasmuch as they were progressive steps in the march towards better things. They led first to the partial convention of delegates from five states, at Annapolis, in September 1786; and then to the general convention at Philadelphia, in 1787, which prepared and proposed the Constitution of the United States. Whoever contributed to that event is justly entitled to the gratitude of the present age as a public benefactor; and among them the name of Monroe should be conspicuously enrolled.

Among the very few powers which, by the Articles of Confederation, had been vested in Congress, was that of constituting a court of commissioners, selected from its own

* John Quincy Adams.

body, to decide upon any disputed question of boundary jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever, between any two states in the Union. These commissioners, were in the first instance, to be chosen with mutual consent by the agents of the two states, parties to the controversy; the final determination of which was submitted to them.

Such a controversy had taken place between the states of Massachusetts and New York, the agents of which attending in Congress in December, 1784, agreed upon nine persons, to constitute the federal court, to decide the question between the parties. Of these nine persons, James Monroe was one; a distinction, in the 26th year of his age, indicating the high estimation in which he was already held throughout the Union. The subsequent history of this controversy to its final and friendly settlement, affords an illustration coinciding with numberless others, of the imbecility of the Confederacy. On the 21st of March, 1785, Congress were informed by a letter from Mr. Monroe, that he accepted the appointment of one of the Judges of the Federal Court, to decide the controversy. On the 9th of June following, the agents from the contending states reported to Congress that they had agreed upon three persons, whom they named, as judges of the federal court, instead of three of those who had been appointed the preceding December, but had declined accepting their appointment: and the agents requested that a commission might be issued to the court, as finally constituted to meet at Williamsburg, in Virginia, on the third Tuesday of November, then next, to hear and determine the controversy.

On the 2d of November of the same year, a representation was made by the agents of the two states to Congress, that such had been the difficulties and delays in obtaining answers from several of the judges, that the parties were left in suspense even to that hour; a hearing had thus been prevented, and further procrastination was unavoidable.

They petitioned, therefore, that the hearing should be remitted to such a day, as the parties should agree upon, and thereafter certify to Congress—and a resolution passed accordingly.

On the 15th of May, 1786, a letter was received by Congress from Mr. Monroe, informing them that some circumstances would put it out of his power to act as a judge for the decision of this controversy, and resigning his commission.

On the 27th of September following, Congress were informed by the agents of the parties that they had agreed upon a person to be a judge, in the place of Mr. Monroe, and they requested that a new commission might be issued to the court. The court never met, for on the 16th of December, 1786, the litigating parties, by their respective agents at Hartford, in Connecticut, settled the controversy by agreement, between themselves, and to their mutual satisfaction. Of this the agents gave notice to Congress on the 8th of October, 1787, and they moved that the attested copy of the agreement between the two states, which they laid before Congress, should be filed in the secretary's office—which was refused; that body declining even to keep upon their files the evidence of an accord between two members of the Union, concluded otherwise than as the Articles of Confederation had prescribed.

By the Articles of Confederation no delegate in Congress was eligible to serve more than three years in six. Towards the close of 1786, the term of Mr. Monroe's service in that capacity expired. During that term, and while Congress were in session at New York, he formed a matrimonial connexion with Miss Kortright, daughter of Mr. L. Kortright, of an ancient and respectable family of that state. This lady, of whose personal attractions and accomplishments it were impossible to speak in terms of

exaggeration, was, for a period little short of half a century, the cherished and affectionate partner of his life and fortunes.

After his retirement from service in the Confederation Congress, assuming, with a view to practice at the bar, a temporary residence at Fredericksburg, he was almost immediately elected to a seat in the legislature of Virginia; and the ensuing year, to the convention, summoned in that commonwealth, to discuss and decide upon the Constitution of the United States.

The federal constitution, having been framed with difficulty, was submitted to the conventions of the several states for consideration. In Virginia, there was a strong party headed by Patrick Henry, George Mason, and the subject of this memoir, opposed to the adoption of the constitution, believing it to be dangerous to the liberties of the people.

When, in the legislature of Virginia, the question was discussed of the propriety of calling a state convention to decide upon the constitution of the United States, Mr. Monroe took no part in the debate. He then doubted of the course which it would be most advisable to pursue—whether to adopt the constitution in the hope that certain amendments which he deemed necessary, would afterwards be obtained, or to suspend the decision upon the constitution itself, until those amendments should have been secured. When elected to the convention, he expressed those doubts to his constituents assembled at the polls; but his opinion having afterward and before the meeting of the convention, settled into a conviction, that the amendments should precede the acceptance of the constitution, he addressed to his constituents a letter, stating his objections to that instrument, which letter was imperfectly printed, and copies of it were sent by him to several distinguished characters, among whom were General Wash-

ington, Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Madison, who viewed it with liberality and candour.

In the convention Mr. Monroe took part in the debate, and in one of his speeches entered fully into the merits of the subject. He was decidedly for a change, and a very important one, in the then existing system; but the constitution reported, had in his opinion defects requiring amendment, which should be made before its adoption.

The convention, however, by a majority of less than ten votes of one hundred and seventy, resolved to adopt the constitution, with a proposal of amendments to be engrafted upon it. Such too, was the definitive conclusion in all the other states, although two of them lingered one or two years after it was in full operation by authority of all the rest, before their acquiescence in the decision.

By the course which Mr. Monroe had pursued on this great occasion, although it left him for a short time in the minority, yet he lost not the confidence either of the people or of the legislature of Virginia. At the organization of the government of the United States, the first senators from that state were Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson. The decease of the latter in December, 1789, made a vacancy which was immediately supplied by the election of Mr. Monroe; and in that capacity he served until May, 1794, when he was appointed, at the nomination of President Washington, minister plenipotentiary to the republic of France.

In the selection of him, the principle of conciliation to the government near which he was accredited had been observed. But Washington was actuated also by a further motive of holding the balance between the parties at home by this appointment. Mr. Jay, minister to England, was of the Federal party, with a bias of inclination favourable to Britain; Mr. Monroe, of the party which then began to call itself the Republican party, inclining to favour the

cause of Republican France. This party was then in ardent opposition to the general course of Washington's administration—and that of Mr. Monroe in the Senate had not been inactive. To conciliate that party too, was an object of Washington's most earnest solicitude. He nominated Mr. Monroe, and the concurrence of the Senate in his appointment was unanimous.

The contemporaneous missions of Mr. Jay to Great Britain, and of Mr. Monroe to France, are among the most memorable events in the history of this Union. Mr. Jay and Mr. Monroe, each within his own sphere of action, executed with equal ability the trust committed to him, in the spirit of his appointment and of his instructions.*

Mr. Monroe was cordially received by the French Democrats, and he declared the fraternal friendship of his country and her government for the French nation. But the minister's views were not in accordance with those of President Washington, and towards the close of that great man's administration, he was recalled, and Charles C. Pinckney appointed in his place. Upon his return, Mr. Monroe thought proper to publish a vindication of himself, entitled "View of the Conduct of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the United States, connected with the Mission to the French Republic, during the years 1794, 1795, and 1796."

That neither the recall of Mr. Monroe from his mission to France, nor the publication of his volume, had any effect to weaken the confidence reposed in him by his fellow-citizens, was manifested by his immediate election to the legislature, and soon afterwards to the office of governor of Virginia, in which he served for the term, limited by the constitution, of three years. In the mean time, the Directory of France, with its Council of Five Hundred, and its Council of Elders, had been made to vanish from the scene,

* John Quincy Adams.

by the magic talisman of a soldier's sword. The government of France, in point of form, was administered by a Triad of Consuls : in point of fact, by a successful warrior, then Consul for life : hereditary emperor and king of Italy, with a forehead burning for a diadem ; a soul inflated by victory ; and an imagination fired with visions of crowns and sceptres, in prospect before him. He had extorted, from the prostrate imbecility of Spain, the province of Louisiana, and compelled her, before the delivery of the territory to him, to revoke the solemnly stipulated privilege, to the citizens of the United States, of a deposit at New Orleans. A military colony was to be settled in Louisiana, and the materials for an early rupture with the United States were industriously collected. The triumph of the republican party here, had been marked by the election of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency.

The transfer of Louisiana to France, the projected military colony, and the occlusion, at that precise moment, of the port of New Orleans, operated like an electric shock in this country. The pulse of the west beat, instantaneously, for war : and the antagonists of Mr. Jefferson, in Congress, sounded the trumpet of vindication to the rights of the nation ; and, as they perhaps flattered themselves, of downfall to his administration. In this crisis, Mr. Jefferson, following the example of his first predecessor, on a similar occasion, instituted a special and extraordinary mission to France ; for which, in the name of his country, and of the highest of human duties, he commanded, rather than invited, the services and self-devotion of Mr. Monroe. Nor did he hesitate to accept the perilous, and, at that time, most unpromising charge. He was joined, in the commission extraordinary, with Robert R. Livingston, then resident minister plenipotentiary, from the United States, in France, well known as one of the most eminent leaders of our revolution. Mr. Monroe's appointment was made on

the 11th of January, 1803; and, as Louisiana was still in the possession of Spain, he was appointed also, jointly with Charles Pinckney, then minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Madrid, to an extraordinary mission to negotiate, if necessary, concerning the same interest there. The intended object of these negotiations was to acquire, by purchase, the island of New Orleans, and the Spanish territory east of the Mississippi.

When Mr. Monroe arrived in France, all was changed in the councils of the Tuileries. The war between France and Britain was rekindling, and the article of most immediate urgency to the necessities of the first consul was money. The military colony of 20,000 veterans already assembled at Helvoet-Sluis, to embark for Louisiana, received another destination. The continent of America was relieved from the imminent prospect of a conflict with the modern Alexander, and Mr. Monroe had scarcely reached Paris, when he and his colleague were informed that the French government had resolved, for an adequate compensation in money, to cede to the United States the whole of Louisiana. The acquisition, and the sum demanded for it, transcended the powers of the American plenipotentiaries, and the amount of the funds at their disposal; but they hesitated not to accept the offer. The negotiation was concluded in a fortnight. The ratification of the treaty, with those of a convention appropriating part of the funds created by it to the adjustment of certain claims of citizens of the United States upon France, were within six months exchanged at Washington, and the majestic valley of the Mississippi, and the Rocky Mountains, and the shores of the Pacific Ocean, became integral parts of the North American Union.

From France, immediately after the conclusion of the treaties, Mr. Monroe proceeded to England, where he was

commissioned as the successor of Rufus King, in the character of minister plenipotentiary of the United States.

Just before the departure of Mr. King, a convention had been proposed by him, in which Britain abandoned the pretension of right to impress seamen, which failed only by a captious exception for the narrow seas, suggested by a naval officer, then at the head of the admiralty. But after the war recommenced, the odious pretensions and oppressive practices of unlicensed rapine returned in its train. In the midst of his discussions with the British government on these topics, Mr. Monroe was called away to the discharge of his extraordinary mission to Spain.

In the retrocession of Louisiana, by France to Spain, no limits of the province had been defined. It was retroceded with a reference to its original boundaries as possessed by France, but those boundaries had been a subject of altercation between France and Spain, from the time when Louis the 14th had made a grant of Louisiana to Crozat. Napoleon took this retrocession of the province, well aware of the gordian knot with which it was bound, and fully determined to sever it with his accustomed solvent, the sword. His own cession of the province to the United States, however, relieved him from the necessity of resorting to this expedient, and proportionably contracted in his mind the dimensions of the province. He ceded Louisiana to the United States without waiting for the delivery of possession to himself, and used with regard to the boundary in his grant, the very words of the conveyance to him by Spain. The Spanish government solemnly protested against the cession of Louisiana to the United States, alleging that in the very treaty by which France had re-acquired the province, she had stipulated never to cede it away from herself. Soon admonished, however, of her own helpless condition, and encouraged to transfer her objections from the cession to the boundary, she withdrew her protest

against the whole transaction, and took ground upon the disputed extent of the province. The original claim of France had been from the Perdido east to the Rio Bravo west of the Mississippi. Mobile had been originally a French settlement, and all West Florida was as distinctly within the claim of France, as the mouth of the Mississippi first discovered by La Salle. Such was the understanding of the American plenipotentiaries, and of Congress, who accordingly authorized President Jefferson to establish a collection district on the shores, waters, and inlets of the bay and river Mobile, and of rivers both east and west of the same. But Spain on her part reduced the province of Louisiana to little more than the island of New Orleans. She assumed an attitude menacing immediate war; refused to ratify a convention made under the eye of her own government at Madrid, for indemnifying citizens of the United States plundered under her authority during the preceding war; harassed and ransomed the citizens of the Union and their property on the waters of Mobile; and marched military forces to the borders of the Sabine, where they were met by troops of the United States, with whom a conflict was spared only by a temporary military convention between the respective commanders. It was at this emergency that Mr. Monroe proceeded from London to Madrid to negotiate together with Mr. Pinckney upon this boundary, and for the purchase of the remnant of Spain's title to the territory of Florida.

There in the space of five months, together with his colleague Charles Pinckney, he unfolded the principles and discussed the justice of his country's claim, in correspondence and conference with the Prince of Peace, and Don Pedro Cevallos, with great ability, but without immediate effect. In June, 1805, Mr. Monroe returned to his post at London, where new and yet more arduous labours awaited him.

From that period till the commencement of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain, the life of James Monroe was a continual conflict with British officials concerning the rights of his country. He was joined with William Pinckney in an extraordinary mission, but nothing could be effected by negotiation. At the close of 1807 he returned to the United States.

After a short interval passed in the retirement of private life, he was again elected governor of Virginia, and upon the resignation of Robert Smith, was, in the spring of 1811, appointed by President Madison secretary of state. This office he continued to hold during the remainder of the double presidential term of Mr. Madison, with the exception of about six months at the close of the late war with Great Britain, when he discharged the then still more arduous duties of the war department. On the return of peace he was restored to the department of state.

In both departments, his services were of vast importance to the country. He was the only efficient war minister during Mr. Madison's administration; and when he ascertained that the British contemplated an attack upon New Orleans, he pledged his private credit in order to raise supplies for the defence. But for his energy and patriotic devotion, the means of resistance could not have been obtained.

In 1816, Mr. Monroe received the nomination of the Democratic representatives in Congress for the presidency of the United States. Daniel D. Tompkins was nominated on the same ticket for the vice-presidency. Rufus King was the presidential candidate of the Federal party. The result of the election was the triumph of Monroe and Tompkins by a large majority. On the 4th of March, 1817, Mr. Monroe was inaugurated. The liberal and conciliatory spirit of his address gave general satisfaction, and the end of bitter partisan disputes was anticipated.

President Monroe formed his cabinet by the following appointments: John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, secretary of state; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, secretary of the treasury; John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, secretary of war; and William Wirt, of Virginia, attorney-general. Benjamin M. Crowninshield, of Massachusetts, was continued in the post of secretary of the navy, until November, 1818, when Smith Thompson, of New York, succeeded him. Return J. Meigs, of Ohio, was continued as postmaster-general until December, 1823, when John M'Lean, of Ohio, was appointed in his place. These were the only changes made in the cabinet during the whole eight years of President Monroe's administration.

Soon after his inauguration, President Monroe determined to examine personally the defences of the country. The laborious journey he made for this purpose occupied three months. The president was everywhere received with respect and affection; and all facilities for communicating information concerning the different garrisons, arsenals, and depots were afforded him. He returned to Washington with a more complete knowledge of the condition of the country than any president had yet possessed. Congress gave the administration nearly a unanimous support, and it proceeded steadily and vigorously. Its chief measure was a treaty with Spain by which Florida and the islands adjacent were acquired, in consideration of five million dollars. (October, 1820). Some troubles had occurred in that territory, which will be narrated in the life of General Jackson.

In 1820, Messrs. Monroe and Tompkins were re-elected with almost unanimity, only one vote being cast against Monroe, and fourteen against Tompkins. Soon after the election, Congress assembled, and the question of admitting Missouri into the union as a slave state agitated the

country. The exciting question was not settled until March, 1821, when a compromise proposed by Mr. Clay was adopted, and Missouri was admitted as a state. The recognition of the independence of Mexico and some of the South American republics was the next important measure under this administration. The last year of Mr. Monroe's administration was distinguished by the visit to the United States of General de Lafayette, the friend of the country during the revolution. On the 3d of March, 1825, Mr. Monroe retired from office.

Returning to his residence in Loudon county, Virginia, he was appointed a county magistrate. He was then deeply in debt. But Congress speedily relieved his embarrassments by the adjustment of his claims. He was chosen a member of the convention called in 1829 to revise the constitution of Virginia, and unanimously elected to preside over its deliberations. Before the close of its labours, indisposition compelled him to retire, and in 1830 he removed to New York city, where he died on the 4th of July, 1831, at the age of 72.

Mr. Monroe possessed a striking personal appearance, being about six feet in stature, with strongly marked features, and blue, penetrating eyes. His bearing was amiable but dignified. He compensated for his want of quickness of apprehension, by the most unremitting labour. He was no orator, and but a tolerable writer. He was a statesman of the order of Castlereagh, poor in speech, but invaluable in action. The good wishes of his countrymen followed him to the close of his long and honourable career.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

A GREAT father seldom has a great son. This is a matter of common observation. But the rule so well established has some very remarkable exceptions. The English are still divided in opinion as to the superiority of Chatham, or his son; and Americans will be found in the same condition upon the question, as to which President Adams was the greater man—the orator and diplomatist of the revolution, or the orator, statesman, and scholar of more recent times. They differed in talents and services; but each accomplished enough to prove himself a leader among men.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was emphatically a child of the revolution, being the son of John Adams, one of the most influential of its promoters, and being born and educated amid its exciting scenes. He first saw the light in Boston on the 11th of July, 1767. His mother taught him the rudiments of English, and he displayed wonderful quickness of apprehension and precocious ability. In 1778, when he was but eleven years of age, he accompanied his father to Paris, where he attended school for about a year and a half. In the mean time, he derived instruction from the conversation of John Adams, Dr. Franklin, and other persons of intellectual distinction. Father and son returned to America; but the country could not dispense with the services of John Adams. He was successively appointed minister to England and Holland. He again crossed the ocean, taking John Quincy with him. Young Adams was now placed at





school, first at Amsterdam, and then at the University of Leyden. In July, 1781, he was appointed by the minister to Russia, Francis Dana, secretary of the legation, although but fourteen years old. He remained in the situation fourteen months, giving perfect satisfaction, and then, returning to Holland, resumed his studies at the Hague. After the conclusion of peace, he accompanied his father to London, where the whole family was soon united. Fearful of losing the opportunity for academical studies he returned to the United States in 1785, and at the age of eighteen entered Cambridge University. He continued there three years, and graduated in 1788 with the highest honours.

After leaving Cambridge, young Adams entered the office of Theophilus Parsons, who was then in the practice of law at Newburyport, and who afterwards for so many years filled with dignity and ability the office of chief justice of Massachusetts. Adams completed the usual term of professional study, and then commenced the practice of the law in Boston.

But the country and the age had claims on John Quincy Adams, as well as on his father, for higher duties than "making writs," and "haranguing juries," and "being happy."

The revolution in France, and the measures adopted by the allied sovereigns to arrest its progress, excited the liveliest interest among the people of the United States. But their sympathies ran in different channels, and very naturally took the hue of their party predilections. The Democrats, believing the French revolution to be the upspringing of the same principles which had triumphed here—a lawful attempt of an oppressed people to secure the exercise of inalienable rights—although shuddering at the excesses which had been perpetrated, still felt it to be our own cause, and insisted that we were in honour and duty bound to render all the assistance in our power, even to a

resort to arms, if need be. The Federalists, on the other hand, were alarmed at the anarchical tendencies in France. They were fearful that law, order, government, and society itself, would be utterly and speedily swept away, unless the revolutionary movement was arrested. Cherishing these apprehensions, they were disposed to favour the views of Great Britain and other European powers, and were anxious that the government of the United States should adopt some active measures to assist in checking what they could not but view as rapid strides to political and social anarchy.

There was residing at this period, in Boston, a young and nearly briefless lawyer, whose views on these important matters differed materially from those entertained by both parties. It was John Quincy Adams. While he could not countenance the attempts of the allied powers to destroy the French republic, and re-establish a monarchy, he was equally far from favouring the turn which affairs were clearly taking in that unhappy country. He evidently foresaw the French revolution would prove a failure; and that it was engendering an influence which, unchecked, would be deeply injurious to American liberty and order. To counteract this tendency, he published in the *Boston Centinel*, in 1791, a series of articles, signed "Publicola," in which he discussed with great ability, the wild vagaries engendered among political writers in France, and which had been caught up by many in our own country. These articles attracted much attention both at home and abroad. They were republished in England as an answer to several points in Paine's "Rights of Man." So profound was the political sagacity they displayed, and so great the familiarity with public affairs, that they were by general consent attributed to the elder Adams.

The younger Adams, in surveying the condition of the country at this critical period, became convinced it would

be a fatal step for the new government to take sides with either of the great parties in Europe, who were engaged in the settlement of their difficulties by the arbitrament of arms. However strongly our sympathies were elicited in behalf of the French republic—however we may have been bound in gratitude for the assistance rendered us during our revolutionary struggle, to co-operate with France in her defence of popular institutions—still, self-preservation is the first law of nature. Mr. Adams saw that to throw ourselves into the melee of European conflicts, would prostrate the interests of the country, and peril the very existence of the government. These views he embodied in a series of articles, which he published in the *Boston Centinel*, in 1793, under the signature of “*Marcellus*.” He insisted it was alike the dictate of duty and policy, that the United States should remain strictly neutral between France and her enemies. These papers attracted general attention throughout the Union, and made a marked impression on the public mind. They were read by Washington, with expressions of the highest satisfaction; and he made particular inquiries respecting the author.

On the 25th of April, 1793, Washington issued a proclamation announcing the neutrality of the United States between the belligerent nations of Europe. This proclamation was not issued until after Mr. Adams’s articles urging this course had been before the public for some time. It is an honourable testimony to the sagacity of his views, that Washington and the eminent men composing his cabinet adopted a policy which coincided so perfectly with opinions he had formed purely from the strength of his own convictions. The proclamation pleased neither of the belligerent nations in Europe. It aroused the enmity of both; and laid open our commerce to the depredations of all

parties, on the plea that the American government was inimical to their interests.

In the winter of 1793 and 1794, the public mind had become highly excited from the inflammatory appeals in behalf of France, by citizen Genet, the French minister to the United States. A large portion of the Anti-Federal party took sides with Mr. Genet, against the neutral position of our government, and seemed determined to plunge the Union into the European contest, in aid of the French republic.

It taxed the wisdom and skill of Mr. Jefferson, then secretary of state, to counteract the influence of the French minister, and prevent citizens of the United States from committing overt acts against the allied sovereigns, and embroiling the Union in a foreign war. In this endeavour he was greatly assisted by the pen of Mr. J. Q. Adams. This gentleman wrote a series of essays for the public prints, under the signature of "Columbus," reviewing the course of Mr. Genet. In these articles, he pointed out, with great clearness, the principles of the law of nations applicable to the situation of the country in the neutral line of policy which had been wisely adopted.

The political writings of the younger Adams had now brought him prominently before the public. They attracted the especial attention of Mr. Jefferson, who saw in them a vastness of comprehension, a maturity of judgment and critical discrimination, which gave large promise of future usefulness and eminence. Before his retirement from the state department, he commended the youthful statesman to the favourable regard of President Washington, as one pre-eminently fitted for public service.

General Washington, although a soldier by profession, was a lover of peace. His policy, during his administration of the government, was pre-eminently pacific. Convinced

that, in the infant state of the Union, war with a foreign nation could result only in evil and ruin, he was anxious to cultivate the most friendly relations with foreign governments, and to carry out, both in letter and spirit, the strict neutrality he had proclaimed. To declare and maintain these principles abroad, and to form political and commercial relations with European powers, Washington looked anxiously around for one fitted for a mission so important. His attention soon became fixed on John Quincy Adams. He saw in him qualities not only of deep political sagacity, and views of policy at unity with his own, but a familiarity with the languages and customs of foreign courts, which marked him as one every way calculated to represent our government with credit in the old world. He accordingly, in May, 1794, appointed Mr. Adams minister of the United States at the Hague.

Mr. Adams presented himself at the Hague in the summer or fall of 1794. Ten years before, he was there with his father—a lad, attending school. On his arrival in Holland, Mr. Adams found the affairs of that country in great confusion, in consequence of the French invasion. So difficult was it to prosecute any permanent measures for the benefit of the United States, owing to the existing wars and the unsettled state of things in Europe, that after a few months he thought seriously of returning home. A report of this nature having reached President Washington, drew from him a letter to Vice-President John Adams, dated August 20, 1795, in which the following language occurs:—

“Your son must not think of retiring from the path he is now in. His prospects, if he pursues it, are fair; and I shall be much mistaken if, in as short a time as can well be expected, he is not found at the head of the diplomatic corps, be the government administered by whomsoever the people may choose.”

This approbation of his proceedings thus far, and encouragement as to future success, from so high a source, undoubtedly induced the younger Adams to forego his inclination to withdraw from the field of diplomacy. He continued in Holland until near the close of Washington's administration. That he was not an inattentive observer of the momentous events then transpiring in Europe, but was watchful and faithful in all that pertained to the welfare of his country, is abundantly proved by his official correspondence with the government at home.

During his residence as minister at the Hague, Mr. Adams had occasion to visit London, to exchange the ratifications of the treaty recently formed with Great Britain, and to take measures for carrying its provisions into effect. It was at this time that he formed an acquaintance with Miss Louisa Catharine Johnson, daughter of Joshua Johnson, Esq., of Maryland, consular agent of the United States at London, and niece of Governor Johnson of Maryland, a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The friendship they formed for each other, soon ripened into a mutual attachment and an engagement. They were married on the 26th of July, 1797. It was a happy union. For more than half a century they shared each other's joys and sorrows. In the mean time, the elder Adams had been elected president of the United States, in 1796.

On entering upon the duties of the presidency, John Adams was greatly embarrassed in regard to the line he should adopt towards his son. True, the younger Adams had been intrusted by Washington with an important embassy abroad, and had acquitted himself with great credit in his responsible station; but the father, with a delicacy highly honourable, hesitated continuing him in office, lest he might be charged with unworthy favouritism, and a disposition to promote the interest of his family at the expense

of public good. In this exigency, not daring to trust his own judgment, lest its decisions might be warped by parental solicitude, he resorted to the wisdom and experience of Washington. Writing him for advice on this subject, he received a reply, advising him to continue his son in office.

President Adams, in agreement with this counsel, determined to allow his son to continue in Europe in the public capacity to which he had been promoted by Washington. Shortly previous to the close of Washington's administration, he transferred the younger Adams from the Hague, by an appointment as minister plenipotentiary to Portugal, but before proceeding to Lisbon, his father, in the mean time having become president, changed his destination to Berlin. He arrived in that city in the autumn of 1797, and immediately entered upon the discharge of his duties as minister of the United States. In 1798, while retaining his office at Berlin, he was commissioned to form a commercial treaty with Sweden. During his residence at Berlin, Mr. Adams, while attending with unsleeping diligence to his public duties, did not forego the more congenial pursuits of literature. He cultivated the acquaintance of many eminent German scholars and poets, and manifested a friendly sympathy in their pursuits.

To perfect his knowledge of the German language, Mr. Adams made a metrical translation of Wieland's *Oberon* into the English language. The publication of this work, which at one time was designed, was superseded by the appearance of a similar translation by Sotheby.

In the summer of 1800, Mr. Adams made a tour through Silesia. He was charmed with the inhabitants of that region, their condition and habits. In many respects he found them bearing a great similarity to the people of his own native New England. He communicated his impressions during this excursion, in a series of letters to a

younger brother in Philadelphia. These letters were interesting, and were considered of great value at that time, in consequence of many important facts they contained in regard to the manufacturing establishments of Silesia. They were published, without Mr. Adams's knowledge, in the *Port Folio*, a weekly paper edited by Joseph Dennie, at Philadelphia. The series was afterwards collected and published in a volume, in London, and has been translated into German and French, and extensively circulated on the continent.

Among other labours while at Berlin, Mr. Adams succeeded in forming a treaty of amity and commerce with the Prussian government. The protracted correspondence with the Prussian commissioners, which resulted in this treaty, involving as it did the rights of neutral commerce, was conducted with consummate ability on the part of Mr. Adams, and received the fullest sanction of the government at home.

The presidential contest in 1800 was urged with a warmth and bitterness, by both parties, which has not been equalled in any election since that period. It was the first time two candidates ever presented themselves to the people as rival aspirants for the highest honour in their gift. Both were good men and true—both were worthy of the confidence of the country. But Mr. Adams, weighed down by the unpopularity of acts adopted during his administration, and suffering under the charge of being an enemy to revolutionary France, and a friend of monarchical England, was distanced and defeated by his competitor. Mr. Jefferson was elected the third president of the republic, and was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1801. One of the last acts of John Adams, before retiring from the presidency, was to recall his son from Berlin, that Mr. Jefferson might have no embarrassment in that direction.

John Quincy Adams returned to the United States from

his first foreign embassy, in 1801. Arriving in the United States with distinguished honours gained by successful foreign diplomacy, Mr. Adams was not allowed to remain long in inactivity. In 1802, he was elected to the Senate of Massachusetts, from the Boston district. During his services in that body, he gave an indication of that independence, as a politician, which characterized him through life, by his opposition to a powerful combination of banking interests, which was effected among his immediate constituents. Although his opposition was unavailing, yet it clearly showed that the integrity of the man was superior to the policy of the mere politician. But higher honours awaited him. In 1803, he was elected to the Senate of the United States, by the legislature of Massachusetts. Thus, at the early age of thirty-six years, he had attained to the highest legislative body of the Union. Young in years, but mature in talent and experience, he took his seat amid the conscript fathers of the country, to act a part which soon drew upon him the eyes of the nation, both in admiration and in censure.

A few months after Mr. Adams's entrance into the Senate of the United States, a law was passed by Congress, at the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson, authorizing the purchase of Louisiana. Mr. Adams deemed this measure an encroachment on the Constitution of the United States, and opposed it on the ground of its unconstitutionality. He was one of six senators who voted against it. Yet when the measure had been legally consummated, he yielded it his support. In passing laws for the government of the territory thus obtained, the right of trial by jury was granted only in capital cases. Mr. Adams laboured to have it extended to all criminal offences. Before the territory had a representative in Congress, the government proposed to levy a tax on the people for purposes of revenue. This attempt met the decided opposition of Mr. Adams. He insisted it

would be an exercise of government, without the consent of the governed, which, to all intents, is a despotism. In 1805, he laboured to have Congress pass a law levying a duty on the importation of slaves. This was the first public indication of his views on the subject of slavery.

But a crisis in his senatorial career at length arrived. The commerce of the United States had suffered greatly by "Orders in Council," and "Milan Decrees." Our ships were seized, conducted into foreign ports, and confiscated, with their cargoes. American seamen were impressed by British cruisers, and compelled to serve in a foreign navy. The American frigate *Chesapeake*, while near the coast of the United States, on refusing to give up four men claimed to be British subjects, was fired into by the English man-of-war *Leopard*, and several of her crew killed and wounded. These events caused the greatest excitement in the United States. Petitions, memorials, remonstrances, were poured in upon Congress from every part of the union. Mr. Jefferson endeavoured by embassies, negotiations, and the exertion of every influence in his power, to arrest these destructive proceedings, and obtain a redress of grievances. But all was in vain. At length he determined on an *embargo*, as the only means of securing our commerce from the grasp of the unscrupulous mistress of the seas. An act to that effect was passed in December, 1807. This effectually prostrated what little foreign commerce had been left to the United States. In these proceedings Mr. Jefferson was stoutly opposed by the Federal party. Massachusetts, then the chief commercial state in the union, resisted with its utmost influence the Embargo Act, as pre-eminently destructive to its welfare, and looked to its senators and representatives in Congress to urge an opposition to the extreme. What course should Mr. Adams adopt? On the one hand, personal friendship, the party which elected him to the Senate, the immediate

interests of his constituents, called upon him to oppose the measures of the administration. On the other hand, more enlarged considerations presented themselves. The interest, the honour, the ultimate prosperity of the whole country—its reputation and influence in the eyes of the world—demanded that the government should be supported in its efforts to check the aggressions of foreign nations, and establish the rights of American citizens. In such an alternative John Quincy Adams could not hesitate. Turning from all other considerations but a desire to promote the dignity and welfare of the union, he threw himself, without reserve, into the ranks of the administration party, and laboured zealously to second the measures of Mr. Jefferson.

The legislature of Massachusetts disapproved the course of Mr. Adams. By a small majority of Federal votes, it elected another person to take his place in the Senate at the expiration of his term, and passed resolutions instructing its senators in Congress to oppose the measures of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Adams could not, consistently with his views of duty, obey these instructions; and having no disposition to represent a body whose confidence he did not retain, he resigned his seat in the Senate, in March, 1808.

In 1804, on the death of President Willard, Mr. Adams was urged by several influential individuals, to be a candidate for the presidency of Cambridge University. He declined the proffered honour. During the following year, however, he was appointed Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, in that institution. He accepted the office, on condition that he should be allowed to discharge its duties at such times as his services in Congress would permit. His inaugural address, on entering the professorship, was delivered on the 12th of June, 1806. His lectures on rhetoric and oratory were very popular.

Mr. Adams continued his connexion with the university,

delivering lectures and conducting exercises in declamation, until July, 1809.

Mr. Adams's devotion to literary pursuits was destined to an early termination. On the 4th of March, 1809, Mr. Madison was inducted into the office of president of the United States. It was at that time far from being an enviable position. At home the country was rent into contending factions. Our foreign affairs were in a condition of the utmost perplexity, and evidently approaching a dangerous crisis. The murky clouds of war, which had for years overshadowed Europe, seemed rolling hitherward, filling the most sanguine and hopeful minds with deep apprehension. Russia, under its youthful emperor, Alexander, was rising to a prominent and influential position among the nations of Europe. Mr. Madison deemed it of great importance that the United States should be represented at that court by some individual eminent alike for talents, experience, and influence. John Quincy Adams was selected for the mission. In March, 1809, he was appointed minister to Russia, and the summer following, sailed for St. Petersburg.

Mr. Adams was received with marked respect at the court of St. Petersburg. His familiarity with the French and German languages—the former the diplomatic language of Europe—his literary acquirements, his perfect knowledge of the political relations of the civilized world, his plain appearance, and republican simplicity of manners, in the midst of the gorgeous embassies of other nations, enabled him to make a striking and favourable impression on the Emperor Alexander and his court.

During his residence in Russia, the death of Judge Cushing caused a vacancy on the bench of the supreme court of the United States, President Madison nominated Mr. Adams to the distinguished office. The nomination

was confirmed by the Senate, but he declined its acceptance.

While sojourning at St. Petersburg, Mr. Adams wrote a series of letters to a son at school in Massachusetts, on the value of the Bible, and the importance of its daily perusal. Since his decease they have been published in a volume, entitled "Letters of John Quincy Adams to his son, on the Bible and its teachings." Their purpose is the inculcation of a love and reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and a delight in their perusal and study.

The influence which Mr. Adams had obtained at St. Petersburg, with the emperor and his court, was turned to the best account. It laid the foundation of those amicable relations which have ever characterized the intercourse of that government with the United States. To this source, also, is unquestionably to be attributed the offer, by the Emperor Alexander, of mediation between Great Britain and the United States. This offer was accepted by the American government, and Mr. Adams, in connexion with Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, was appointed by the president to take charge of the negotiation. The latter gentlemen joined Mr. Adams at St. Petersburg, in July, 1813. Conferences were held by the commissioners with Count Romanzoff, the chancellor of the Russian empire, with a view to open negotiations. The British government, however, refused to treat under the mediation of Russia; but proposed at the same time to meet the American commissioners either at London or Gottenburg. Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard withdrew from St. Petersburg in January, 1814, leaving Mr. Adams in the discharge of his duties as resident minister. The proposition of the British ministry to negotiate for peace, at London or Gottenburg, was accepted by the United States. Mr. Adams and Messrs. Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin, were appointed commissioners, and directed to proceed to Gottenburg for that purpose. Mr.

Adams received his instructions in April, 1814; and as soon as preparations for departure could be made, took passage for Stockholm. Learning there that the place for the meeting of the commissioners had been changed to Ghent, in Belgium, Mr. Adams proceeded to Gottenburg. From thence he proceeded immediately to Ghent, where he arrived on the 24th of June. In the ensuing negotiation, Mr. Adams was placed at the head of the American commissioners. They were men of unsurpassed talents and skill, in whose hands neither the welfare nor the honour of the United States could suffer. In conducting this negotiation, they exhibited an ability, a tact, an understanding of international law, and a knowledge of the best interests of their country, which attracted the favourable attention both of Europe and America.

Having concluded their labours at Ghent by signing the treaty of peace, Mr. Adams, together with Messrs. Albert Gallatin and Henry Clay, was directed to proceed to London, for the purpose of entering into negotiations for a treaty of commerce with Great Britain. Before leaving the continent, Mr. Adams visited Paris, where he witnessed the return of Napoleon from Elba, and his meteoric career during the Hundred Days. Here he was joined in March, 1815, by his family, after a long and perilous journey from St. Petersburg. On the 25th of May, Mr. Adams arrived in London and joined Messrs. Gallatin and Clay, who had already entered upon the preliminaries of the proposed commercial convention with Great Britain. In the mean time, Mr. Adams had received official notice of his appointment as minister to the court of St. James. On the 3d of July, 1815, the convention for regulating the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain was concluded, and duly signed. It was afterwards ratified by both governments, and has formed the basis of commerce and trade between the two countries to the present time.

At the conclusion of these negotiations, Messrs. Gallatin and Clay returned to the United States, and Mr. Adams remained in London, in his capacity as resident minister.

James Madison, after serving his country eight years as president, in a most perilous period of its history, retired to private life, followed by the respect and gratitude of the people of the United States. He was succeeded by James Monroe, who was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1817. Mr. Monroe was a politician of great moderation. It was his desire, on entering the presidency, to heal the unhappy dissensions which had distracted the country from the commencement of its government, and conciliate and unite the conflicting political parties. In forming his cabinet, he consulted eminent individuals of different parties, in various sections of the union, expressing these views.

In carrying out his plans of conciliation, President Monroe selected John Quincy Adams for the responsible post of secretary of state. Mr. Adams had never been an active partisan. In his career as senator, both in Massachusetts and in Washington, during Mr. Jefferson's administration, he had satisfactorily demonstrated his ability to rise above party considerations, in the discharge of great and important duties. And his long absence from the country had kept him free from personal party, and sectional bias, and peculiarly fitted him to take the first station in the cabinet of a president aiming to unite his countrymen in fraternal bonds of political amity.

On receiving notice of his appointment to this responsible office, Mr. Adams, with his family, embarked for the United States, on board the packet ship, and landed in New York on the 6th of August, 1817. A few days after his arrival, a public dinner was given Mr. Adams, in Tammany Hall, New York. A public dinner was also given him on his arrival in Boston.

John Quincy Adams took up his residence at Washing-

ton, and entered upon his duties as secretary of state, in September, 1817. During the eight years of President Monroe's administration, Mr. Adams discharged the duties of the state department, with a fidelity and success which received not only the unqualified approbation of the president, but of the whole country. To him that office was no *sinecure*. His labours were incessant. He spared no pains to qualify himself to discuss, with consummate skill, whatever topics legitimately claimed his attention. The president, the cabinet, the people, reposed implicit trust in his ability to promote the interests of the nation in all matters of diplomacy, and confided unreservedly in his pure American feelings and love of country. Perfectly familiar as he was with the political condition of the world, Mr. Monroe intrusted him, without hesitation, with the management of the foreign policy of the government, during his administration.

Among his acts as secretary of state was the conclusion of several very important treaties, of which that for the acquisition of Florida was the most remarkable.

Before the close of Mr. Monroe's administration, an exciting election occurred. The Eastern States brought forward John Quincy Adams as a candidate for the presidency. Henry Clay, General Andrew Jackson, and William H. Crawford were nominated as rival candidates, all of them holding nearly the same political creed.

It had long been foreseen that a choice of president would not be effected by the people. The result verified this prediction. Of two hundred and sixty-one electoral votes, General Jackson received ninety-nine, Mr. Adams eighty-four, Mr. Crawford forty-one, and Mr. Clay thirty-seven. Neither of the candidates having received a majority in the electoral colleges, the election devolved on the House of Representatives. This took place on the 9th of February, 1825.

Mr. Adams received a majority of the votes cast, and was declared duly elected, much to the indignation of General Jackson's friends. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, had been chosen vice-president by the people.

On the 4th of March, 1825, Mr. Adams was inaugurated, his venerable father, the ex-president, being alive at the time. The cabinet was formed by the appointment of Henry Clay, of Kentucky, secretary of state; Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, secretary of the treasury; James Barbour, of Virginia, secretary of war; Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey, secretary of the navy, and William Wirt, attorney-general.

The administration of Mr. Adams as president of the United States, commenced on the 4th of March, 1825, and continued four years. A combination having taken place immediately after the election, of a majority of the friends of Mr. Crawford with those of General Jackson, it was soon apparent that the new administration was destined to meet with a systematic and violent opposition. Every effort on the part of Mr. Adams, to conciliate his opponents, and to conduct the public affairs with integrity and usefulness, proved ineffectual to turn the torrent of popular opinion which set steadily against him. In the third year of his term the administration was in the minority in both branches of Congress, and the opposition being concentrated on General Jackson as a candidate for president, he was in 1828 elected by a large majority over Mr. Adams.

Many important measures of internal improvement were adopted during Mr. Adams's administration, while the management of foreign affairs, in the able hands of Henry Clay, was remarkable for its sagacity and liberal spirit.

After the inauguration of General Jackson, Mr. Adams retired to Quincy, where he might have passed the remainder of his days in the quiet enjoyments of the social circle. But his friends would not permit him to remain in

retirement. He was nominated for Congress, and returned by a vote nearly unanimous. From that time forward, for seventeen years, he occupied the post of representative in Congress from the Plymouth district in Massachusetts, with unswerving fidelity and the highest honour.

Mr. Adams took his seat in the House of Representatives without ostentation, in December, 1831. His appearance there produced a profound sensation. It was the first time an ex-president had ever entered that Hall in the capacity of a member. He was received with the highest marks of respect.

The degree of confidence reposed in Mr. Adams was manifested by his being placed at once at the head of the committee on manufactures. This is always a responsible station; but it was peculiarly so at that time. The whole union was highly agitated on the subject of the tariff. The friends of domestic manufactures at the North insisted upon high protective duties, to sustain the mechanical and manufacturing interests of the country against a ruinous foreign competition. The Southern States resisted these measures as destructive to their interests, and remonstrated with the utmost vehemence against them—in which they were joined by a large portion of the Democratic party throughout the North. Mr. Adams, with enlarged views of national unity and general prosperity, counselled moderation to both parties. As chairman of the committee on manufactures, he strove to produce such a compromise between the conflicting interests, as should yield each section a fair protection, and restore harmony and fraternity among the people.

Although elected to the House of Representatives as a Whig, and usually acting with that party, yet Mr. Adams would never acknowledge that fealty to party could justify a departure from the conscientious discharge of duty. He went with his party as far as he believed his party was

right and its proceedings calculated to promote the welfare of the country. But no party claims, no smiles nor frowns, could induce him to sanction any measure which he believed prejudicial to the interests of the people. Hence, during his congressional career, the Whigs occasionally found him a decided opposer of their policy and measures, on questions where he deemed they had mistaken the true course. In this he was but true to his principles, character, and whole past history. It was not that he loved his political party or friends less, but that he loved what he viewed as conducive to the welfare of the nation, more.

But the most remarkable effort of Mr. Adams in Congress was his resolute advocacy of the right of petition in regard to slavery. During the years 1836 and 1837, he presented hundreds of petitions upon that subject, and excited a perfect storm of excitement among the southern members. All attempts to intimidate him were ineffectual, and he undauntedly continued his course of action in opposition to slavery. His speeches on every subject were marked with fervid eloquence; but on this, he evinced astonishing energy of feeling.

He distinguished himself especially on the organization of the twenty-sixth Congress, in December, 1839, when difficulties of a novel character occurred, in consequence of disputed seats from the state of New Jersey, which prevented for many days the choice of a speaker. On that occasion Mr. Adams was chosen, by unanimous consent, chairman of the house while it was in a state of confusion and disorder. By his skill and commanding influence, he was enabled to calm the turbulent elements of a disorganized house, and to bring about a settlement of the difficulties which threatened a dissolution of the government.

During Mr. Van Buren's administration, Mr. Adams, then seventy-four years old, appeared in the Supreme Court, and made a powerful appeal on behalf of the "Ami-

stad negroes," who were set at liberty in consequence of his efforts.

Mr. Adams was destined to meet death at his post in Washington. On the 20th of November, 1846, he experienced the first stroke of the disease which terminated his life. He was stricken with paralysis, and confined for several weeks. On the 21st of February, 1848, while voting for a resolution returning thanks to several generals who had distinguished themselves in the Mexican war, he was again struck with paralysis. The House adjourned amid much excitement. Mr. Adams was laid in the speaker's room. On all sides the deepest sorrow was displayed. The "old man eloquent" lingered until the evening of the 23d, when the spirit left its mortal tenement. The last words of Mr. Adams were : "*This is the end of earth—I am content.*" He was then nearly eighty-one years of age.

In person, Mr. Adams was rather short in stature, and portly. His countenance indicated a firm will, a penetrating intellect, and a cheerful temper. His manners were rather awkward and cold. His private character was spotless, and marked with the Christian virtues. A fearless, independent spirit was as much his characteristic as it was his father's. He followed his convictions of right on all occasions, and under all circumstances. As a statesman, he was wise and energetic; as an orator, he was brilliant, fluent, and copious; as a writer, he was rather diffuse, but still forcible; as a scholar, his stores of knowledge were unsurpassed among his countrymen. His writings, including his Diary, are very voluminous, and are worthy of the study of every American. Mr. Adams left a number of children, some of whom have become distinguished in the political world.



ANDREW JACKSON.

WHEN the politicians of the North had become wearied of what they called the Virginia domination, they looked about for a man who possessed sufficient popularity to override caucuses. They fixed upon the hero of the Creek war and of New Orleans—General ANDREW JACKSON, of Tennessee—a man combining all the elements essential to success—indomitable energy, strong sense, honest determination, and a splendid military reputation.

The parents of Andrew Jackson emigrated from Ireland to South Carolina in 1765, bringing with them two sons, named Hugh and Robert. Andrew was born at the Waxhaw settlement, about forty-five miles above Camden, on the 15th of March, 1767. Andrew's father died about two years after his emigration, leaving the three boys to the care of the mother, who executed the arduous task of nurturing her children in a manner that reflected the highest credit upon her persevering fortitude, and exemplary devotedness to the exercise of the best impulses of the human heart. Her pecuniary resources were limited; yet, by judicious management, she was enabled to give her two eldest sons the rudiments of a common education. Andrew she designed for the ministry: and, with this view, he was admitted as a student in an academical institution, where the languages and the higher branches of literature were taught. Here he commenced the study of the classics;

and he would probably have proceeded to effectuate the object designed, had he not been interrupted by a train of events which constitute the brightest era in American history. We allude to the war of the revolution. The history of the world furnishes no parallel, in which a contest has been maintained between high-handed oppression, and a total disregard of the rights of man on one part, and a determined and persevering resistance of the oppressed on the other, and which terminated so gloriously, as is exhibited in the revolutionary struggle of our fathers. No portion of the colonies suffered more from British invasion, than the Southern States. A considerable portion of them was for a time completely overrun, and subjected to the cruelties and indignities of a merciless soldiery. The eldest brother of Andrew joined the army, and was killed at the battle of Stono. Andrew Jackson, with his only surviving brother, joined the American forces soon after, in defence of their country and their homes, the former being only fourteen years of age.

The southern colonies were, at this period, extremely defenceless. Lord Cornwallis, the commander of the British forces, found but little resistance in the commission of his depredations, from those whose lives and liberties he was trampling in the dust; consequently, he left the country, and proceeded to the north, in pursuit of a more extensive field for the exercise of his exterminating propensities, taking the precaution, however, of leaving behind him a band of his myrmidons, sufficiently numerous to awe the vanquished into subjection. On the departure of Cornwallis, the inhabitants of Waxhaw, who had been dispersed by his troops, ventured again to return and repair the ruins of the place, and take measures for their defence. Camden was at this period in the possession of Lord Rawdon, whose vigilance, worthy of a better cause, was awakened by news that the inhabitants of Waxhaw, whom he supposed to

have been effectually exterminated, were again preparing for defensive operations. It is well known, that in this contest the Americans were considered as rebels, who had raised the standard of revolt, and set at defiance the supremacy of their legitimate sovereign. That interchange of courtesies, usually practised by belligerent nations, was entirely dispensed with; consequently, the contest was maintained, on the part of Great Britain, with a spirit of barbarity, and cold-blooded extermination. Actuated by these principles, Lord Rawdon availed himself of the assistance of the American Tories, whom he despatched with a detachment of British dragoons, under the command of Major Coffin, to the destruction of Waxhaw. The inhabitants were determined to defend themselves, though the prospect of ultimate success was nearly hopeless. They assembled, and were intrenching themselves in their church, when they were suddenly surprised by the British troops. Eleven of their number were taken prisoners, and the residue escaped. Among the latter were Andrew Jackson and his brother. They were captured, however, on the ensuing day, and an incident then occurred, which developed the germings of a spirit, which has since prompted its possessor to the accomplishment of deeds of noble daring. Every species of indignity was practised upon the American prisoners, and, with other ill-treatment, young Jackson was ordered to clean the boots of a British officer. He indignantly refused to obey the debasing command, and demanded the treatment due to a prisoner of war. The officer, enraged at the boldness of the refusal, made a violent pass with his sword at the head of the youth, which he parried with his hand, and received a severe wound in consequence. This may, to many, seem a trifling incident; but when we reflect that he was only fourteen years of age, and the prisoner of men who butchered their opponents with a recklessness unknown in the annals of modern war-

fare, his manly firmness and exalted sense of honour cannot, it is believed, fail to elicit the meed of admiration.

The fate of his brother was more tragical. He was severely wounded upon the head, after being taken prisoner; and in this condition he was, with his brother Andrew, thrown into prison, and confined by the order of his captors, in a separate cell. Here he remained neglected, his wounds undressed, shut out from the assistance and sympathy of a single individual who could have extended to him the hand of relief, till an exchange of prisoners took place, when he was returned to die under his mother's roof. The neglect of his wound while in prison, produced an inflammation of the brain, which terminated in death. We cannot here forbear paying a small tribute to the memory of the excellent mother of Mr. Jackson. She had remained in Europe, till British oppression threatened to overwhelm her family. She then, with her husband and children, sought an asylum on the American shores; but even here the same oppressors followed her. A lone widow, in a land of strangers, she succeeded in rearing her children to the dawn of manhood, only to see them fall by the hands of a merciless enemy. The last efforts of her life were spent in mitigating the sufferings, and extending relief to the prisoners who were captured in her neighbourhood:—but when she saw her children fall—those whom in the ardour of maternal affection she had so fondly nurtured—the ties which bound her to earth were broken, and the grave closed upon her as it had done upon her murdered offspring.

Mr. Jackson, at the age of fifteen, found himself alone in the world, a sad spectator of the desolations that had visited his family. Divorced from every living being with whom he could sympathize as a kinsman, he might speak in the emphatic language of the chieftain, the last of whose relatives had been slain in battle, "That not a drop of his

blood ran in the veins of any living creature." The sudden extinction of his family bore heavily upon him; his sufferings and imprisonment had impaired his constitution; and, to complete the measure of his misfortunes, he was violently seized with the small-pox, which nearly terminated his life. The vigour of his constitution, however, triumphed over the virulence of his disease, and restored him again to health. He succeeded to the patrimony of his father, which, though small, would, with prudent management, have enabled him to complete his studies, and to enter upon the duties of mature life with many pecuniary advantages. But those endowments which serve to elevate men to distinction, are seldom found connected with talents of economy in money matters. At least, it was thus with Mr. Jackson. Generous to a fault, he soon reduced his estate to a diminutiveness, which threw him at once upon the resources of his own mind, and compelled him to become the architect of his own fortunes. He resumed his literary pursuits at the age of sixteen, under the tutelage of Mr. M'Culloch, and endeavoured, by severe application to his studies, to restore what he had lost by various interruptions. With him he completed the study of the languages, preliminary to his entrance at the university; but the diminution of his pecuniary resources induced him to relinquish his original design of acquiring a classical education. At the age of seventeen he commenced the study of law at Salisbury, North Carolina, in the office of Spruce M'Kay, Esq., and completed it under the supervision of John Stokes, Esq., both lawyers of distinction, and was admitted a practitioner at the bar of that state in 1786. He practised in the courts of the state two years; but not finding professional prospects sufficiently flattering to induce him to remain, he resolved to push his fortunes in the west.

The present State of Tennessee was, at this period, a territorial government of the United States, called the

South West Territory, having been recently organized by Congress. The climate was salubrious, the soil was fertile, and it was rapidly advancing, from a wild region, to a state of civilization. Here we find Mr. Jackson in 1788. The honourable Judge M'Nairy was appointed judge of this territory in the fall of this year, and was accompanied by Mr. Jackson to Nashville, at which place they arrived in October, when the first court was holden. He here found himself among a people widely different in manners, customs, and habits, from those he had recently left. In the older states, when one generation of inhabitants has followed another in regular succession, there are always some distinguishing characteristics in the whole population. But in the new states, an established character in the people would hardly be discoverable, if we except energy and personal independence. In those parts of the republic which have been settled for two centuries, a family, a moneyed, or a landed aristocracy, can always be discovered. The many become subservient to the few, and subjugate their minds to those who, by wealth or power, have obtained an ascendancy over them. In such a state of society, an insulated being like Andrew Jackson, without the influence of friends to aid him, or funds to procure them, could hardly hope, with the most exalted intellect, to arrive at a station either of emolument or profit. Circumstances are widely different in the new states. Drawn together from different sections of an extensive country, by motives of interest, of power, or of fame, each individual may almost be said to make a province by himself. In such a situation, the most energetic character becomes the object of the greatest popular favour. Mr. Jackson was well calculated to move in this sphere of action. Without any extrinsic advantages to promote his advancement, he had solely to rely upon intrinsic worth, and decision of character, to enable him to rise rapidly. He commenced the practice of law in Nash-

ville, at the age of twenty-one, and soon distinguished himself among his competitors. His stern integrity and unremitting attention to business recommended him to the notice of government, and procured for him the appointment of attorney-general of the territory. This office he sustained for a considerable length of time, with much reputation to himself.

The South West Territory, in 1796, was admitted a sovereign and independent state into the Union, and took the name of Tennessee. The people were then called upon to exercise a highly responsible act of self-government—that of forming a constitution, as the supreme law of the state. Mr. Jackson was chosen a member of the convention, called to discharge this important duty. Although he had become known to the most distinguished citizens of the country, his exertions in this convention brought him into more universal notice, by the distinguished part he took upon this important subject. The course of his studies had previously led him to the investigation of the science of government, from the earliest ages down to the period in which he lived. With the rise, progress, and termination of the ancient republics, he had made himself familiarly acquainted; he had witnessed the operation of the American constitution, and those of the different states, from their first establishment to the period in which he acted. With a mind thus prepared to meet the important discussion, he took lead in the debates upon the different articles of the proposed constitution. To those who are acquainted with the constitution of the state of Tennessee, the precision with which the legislative, the judiciary, and executive powers are designated; the care manifested in securing to the people their civil rights; the freedom allowed in the exercise of the rights of conscience, must be obvious, and much credit is due to Mr. Jackson, for his efforts in producing so desirable a result. As a proof of their approba-

tion of his services, the people of Tennessee elected him their first representative in Congress. His popularity continued to increase, and in 1797 he was elected to the Senate of the United States. His congressional life was distinguished for a firm adherence to republican principles; and in the Senate, he voted for the repeal of the alien and sedition laws. His affairs in Tennessee requiring his attention, induced him to resign his seat in the Senate before the session closed. He accordingly returned; and soon after, contrary to his inclinations, he was appointed judge of the Supreme Court. After discharging its duties for a while, he resigned the station, and retired to private life.

Mr. Jackson had received the appointment of major-general of the Tennessee militia, at the time of the admission of that state into the union; and he held that office when war was declared against Great Britain in 1812. He was first called into the field to act against the Indians. The great Tecumseh, having united a number of the northern tribes to check the progress of the Americans, visited the southern Indians early in 1812, to instigate them to begin hostilities.

But, nothing had so powerful effect in exciting the hostilities of the Creek, Alabama, and Seminole Indians, against the borderers of the South West Territory, as the promises, bribery, and corrupting influence of British and Spanish emissaries. With their hereditary hatred against the Americans, added to the enthusiasm excited by Tecumseh, and the liberal aid of the British and Spanish governments, these powerful tribes, at the commencement of the last war, were prepared to extend over our western frontiers all the devastation and horrors of savage hostility. The states of Tennessee and Georgia, from their vicinity to the extensive country inhabited by the Creeks, were more immediately exposed to Indian ravages. Familiarized to their unrelenting barbarity, the citizens of these states

were fully aware, that nothing but a war of extermination against the Creeks, would protect their own settlements on the frontiers from destruction, and their families from inhuman butchery.

Such was the situation of our national relations, when the acts of Congress of the 6th February, and July, 1812, authorizing the president to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, were promulgated. On receipt of intelligence relating to the passage of these acts, General Jackson published an energetic address to the militia of his division, which drew two thousand five hundred of them to his standard, and without delay he made a tender of their services to the government, which tender was accepted. The detachment having been embodied and organized, was ordered to proceed by water to New Orleans.

Subsequently to his departure, General Jackson was ordered to halt near Natchez, and in compliance with it, he took a position in the neighbourhood of that city. Here, while attending to the health and discipline of the corps, he received a laconic mandate from the war department, commanding him to dismiss his volunteers, and deliver all public property in his possession to General Wilkinson, then commanding the military district in which they were stationed. This order he disobeyed, as he believed that the government was unacquainted with the situation of the troops. They had been induced to go hundreds of miles from home, and were now suddenly dismissed, totally unprovided with the means for reaching their families. Soon afterwards, General Jackson determined to dismiss his troops, but also to retain a sufficient quantity of the public property to enable them to get back to Tennessee. He returned at their head, shared all their toils and dangers, and saw them separate in good spirits.

The Creeks commenced hostilities with the shocking

massacre at Fort Mimms, on the 30th of August, 1813. Weatherford, a noted chief, with six hundred Indians, surprised the fort, burned it, and butchered about two hundred and fifty persons.

On the receipt of this disastrous intelligence, the inhabitants of Tennessee adopted the most energetic measures to protect the borderers, and avenge the massacre at Fort Mimms. The legislature of the state convened towards the close of September, and authorized Governor Blount to call into immediate service three thousand five hundred of the militia, and voted a large sum for their support. The legislature, and indeed the whole population of Tennessee, fixed their hopes upon General Jackson. The confidence of all in him was unlimited. It had long been his opinion, that the only effectual mode of warfare against the savages, was to carry war into the heart of their country. General Wayne many years since, and General Harrison more recently, had evinced the correctness of this opinion. The legislature accorded with him in sentiment, and the command of the intended expedition devolved upon him. He was ordered by Governor Blount to call out two thousand militia, and to rendezvous at Fayetteville. A part of this detachment consisted of the Tennessee volunteers, who had the preceding spring returned from Natchez. Upon the 4th of October, 1813, the day appointed, the troops promptly repaired to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Coffee, in the mean time, had raised five hundred mounted volunteers, and was authorized to augment his force by adding to it the volunteer mounted riflemen who might offer their services. On the 7th of October, General Jackson repaired to the rendezvous of Fayetteville, and with his corps commenced his march for the Creek country. Colonel Coffee proceeded with his cavalry and mounted riflemen towards the frontiers, and stationed himself near Huntsville. In the Creek nation were many natives in

amity with the United States. From them, important information was obtained, and essential service was rendered by them to our troops. On the 8th, Colonel Coffee informed General Jackson by express, that from information derived from Indian runners, the hostile Creeks were collecting in great force; and intended simultaneously to attack the frontiers of Georgia and Tennessee.

General Jackson, on the 10th, put his corps in motion, and by great exertions reached Huntsville the same day, a distance of forty miles. Colonel Coffee had reached the Tennessee river, and General Jackson overtook him the next day, and united with his regiment upon the bank of the river. He then despatched Colonel Coffee with his mounted corps to explore the Tombigbee river, while he encamped his own division upon the Tennessee, and commenced vigorous operations in preparing them for active service. In the camp of General Jackson the commissary department was very defective, and he depended upon various contractors for casual rather than regular supplies of provisions. On investigation, an alarming deficiency was found to exist. General Jackson, by measures the most efficient, and by entreaties the most urgent, endeavoured to procure a supply. Undaunted himself, he set an example of cheerfulness before his followers, and for a time dispelled their apprehensions.

At this critical period, information was received that the Creeks were embodied near the Ten Islands on the Coosa. Collecting what provisions could be obtained, he commenced his march upon the 18th, for Thompson's Creek. His route led through a wild and mountainous region, which was nearly impervious to the passage of his army. He arrived there on the 22d, and remained until certain information was received that the Creeks would soon commence operations upon the Coosa. Colonel Dyer had been previously sent with a detachment to attack the village of

Littafutchee, on a branch of the Coosa. He took the place with a trifling loss on his part, and brought back with him twenty-nine prisoners of the hostile Creeks. The scouting parties now began to bring in prisoners, and cattle, and corn taken from the enemy. The main body of the army was encamped about thirteen miles from Tallushatches, where the Creeks in large numbers had assembled with hostile preparations, and had taken a position at that place, situated on the opposite shore of the Coosa.

Early in November, General Coffee was detached, with 900 men, to attack the Creek encampment. The Indians made a gallant resistance, and refused quarter. After an obstinate conflict, they were almost annihilated. Two hundred of their warriors fell in this battle. The loss of the Tennesseans was five killed and thirty wounded.

The Tennessee forces, at the commencement of the campaign, in the Creek nation, in 1813, consisted of two divisions—one of West Tennessee, commanded by General Jackson, the other of East Tennessee, commanded by General Cocke. Major-General Thomas Pinckney, of the United States army, was commander-in-chief of the military district in which these troops were organized. The decisive victory at Tallushatches, and the total discomfiture of the savages of that station, induced General Jackson to adopt the most efficient measures for prosecuting the encouraging success the army had there met with, by more important operations. To accomplish these, he sent an express, on the 4th of November, to Brigadier-General White, of General Cocke's division, who was only twenty-five miles distant, ordering him, with the troops under his command, to form a junction with him at Fort Strother, which he had established as a depot. His object in forming this junction, was to augment his forces to such an amount, as to enable him to proceed with confidence in attacking the enemy, and leave a force in the rear sufficient to protect

the sick and guard the baggage. Although he had twice before sent similar orders, not a word of intelligence was received from him. He delayed until the 7th, when he despatched another express.

On the same day, information was received by General Jackson, that a fortress of friendly Indians at Talladega, thirty miles distant from Fort Strother, was in imminent danger of total destruction by the hostile party, who had assembled about them in great numbers. They had espoused the cause of the Americans; and, of course, had excited the vindictive malice and savage ferocity of their brethren. The runners, despatched by the friendly Creeks, urged General Jackson to relieve them from their perilous situation. The same sentiment that induced General Jackson to hazard his reputation in protecting his countrymen at Natchez, led him, without hesitation, to extend his aid to those natives, who had adhered to our interests with so much fidelity. He commenced his march at twelve o'clock in the evening. He despatched another express to General White to repair that night to Fort Strother, and protect it in his absence. To his great surprise, he received a message from him, that he had, agreeably to his order, commenced a march to Fort Strother, but that he had received counter orders from General Cocke, to join *him* at Chatuga Creek; and that he should obey him. It would be difficult to conceive a more embarrassing situation than that in which General Jackson was now placed; his rear unprotected and exposed to the ravages of the enemy—in his front the war-shout had sounded, and a reaction of the bloody tragedy of Fort Mimms was impending over the defenceless inhabitants of Talladega. Not a moment was to be lost; his decision was instantly taken, and he urged on his troops to their defence with his wonted energy. They crossed the river that very night, each horseman carrying a foot soldier behind him—though the Coosa is here 600 yards wide.

The whole night was consumed in this operation; yet the army continued to march with unabated ardour, and by the next evening arrived within six miles of the enemy.

On the morning of the 8th of November, Jackson advanced to the attack. The Indians stood their ground manfully, and the contest was long and bloody. General Jackson restored the battle twice when the enemy were gaining ground, and at length obtained a complete victory. The savages fled, leaving about 300 of their number dead upon the field. The loss of the Tennesseans was fifteen killed, and eighty-five wounded. After the battle, General Jackson was compelled to return to Fort Strother, to protect the sick and wounded, and obtain supplies.

General Jackson's plan of operation was very much frustrated by the refusal of General White to form a junction with him, or to repair to the protection of Fort Strother, in his absence; and compelled him to relinquish his intention of immediately extending the war into the Indian territories, and bringing the contest with the Creeks to a speedy conclusion. It protracted hostilities with a people who prosecute their quarrels with the most unrelenting and bloody barbarity, and who, of all others, should be promptly taught to respect our rights.

It has been previously stated, that the Creeks had determined to attack the frontiers of Georgia and Tennessee, simultaneously. Measures, equally efficient with those adopted by the executive and legislature of Tennessee, were adopted by the executive and legislature of Georgia. His Excellency, Peter Early, governor of that state, upon the 8th of November, 1813, communicated to the Senate and House of Representatives, the information he had received of savage depredations and murders upon the frontiers. The legislature promptly authorized the governor to cause the frontiers to be put in a state of defence, and to send a competent force into the heart of the Creek country. The

Georgia militia were commanded by Brigadier-General Floyd. He met the enemy at Autoussee, upon the banks of the Tallapoosa river, and gained a complete victory.

While these events were transpiring, General Jackson was encountering great difficulties in consequence of famine and mutiny among his corps at Fort Strother. Here his troops were compelled to submit to all the horrors of starvation. Their whole stock of provisions consisted only of a few cattle taken from the enemy, or purchased from the Cherokees. In these circumstances, General Jackson made every exertion to alleviate the distresses of his soldiers. He covered his table with offals and acorns from the forest, and partook of no better fare than the most humble of his corps. Great discontent, however, was produced among his troops by the privations and hardships of their situation, which at length broke out in open mutiny. They were clamorous to break up the campaign, and return home; to effect this they were even encouraged by many of the subordinate officers. General Jackson saw the vast importance of maintaining his post and army entire till supplies should arrive. He knew that the hopes of the borderers of Georgia and Tennessee rested upon him; he knew that they had watched his operations with intense anxiety, and hailed his victories with the most heartfelt gratitude and delight: he knew that if the campaign were to end here, all his former successes would be rendered worse than useless.

Impelled by these considerations, General Jackson resorted to every persuasive expedient to allay the discontent of his troops. He reminded them of the past—the unshaken fortitude they had displayed in their hazardous expedition to Natchez—the daring courage they had manifested upon the plains of Tallushatches and Talladega—the exposure of their families and kindred to the horrors of savage butchery. But all his efforts were unavailing.

Every pacific expedient on the part of General Jackson having been exhausted, he was at length compelled to resort to force. When, therefore, the militia revolted openly, and were about to abandon the camp, he drew up the volunteers under arms, with orders to prevent their departure. This display of resolution overawed the militia, and they returned to their tents. The volunteers, however, were themselves disaffected, and soon prepared to follow the example, which, a short time previous, they had been instrumental in preventing the militia from executing. But the general had anticipated their measures, and prepared to counteract them. As they were about to leave the camp, the militia opposed them, and expressed their determination of enforcing their stay, if necessary, at the point of the bayonet. This movement produced the same effect upon the volunteers, as theirs of a similar nature had before done upon the militia, and like them, they returned again to their tents. The cavalry, however, were in a condition which silenced every objection to their departure; their forage was entirely exhausted, and they had no prospect of obtaining more. General Jackson therefore permitted them to return home, on condition they would rejoin him if necessity required.

Mutiny, however, continued to exist in the minds of his troops, notwithstanding all his endeavours to suppress it. He promised that if supplies did not arrive in two days, he would abandon his position, and march his army to the settlements. But nothing would satisfy the volunteers. And he was compelled to allow one regiment to depart, with a stipulation to return after they should have satisfied their most pressing wants. The militia displayed more firmness, and waited till the two stipulated days had elapsed, but the supplies did not arrive. They required of the general a redemption of his pledge, and he could not refuse. In the bitterness of his mortification, he ex-

claimed that if but two men would abide with him, he would never abandon the fort. Captain Gordon and one hundred more immediately proposed to remain and protect the position. Leaving this garrison behind, the army prepared for its march homeward. Scarcely had the troops left Fort Strother, when they were met by a convoy of the long-expected commissaries' stores. This was rather an unwelcome sight to the troops, whose minds were fixed upon home. After some resistance, which was overcome by a most signal display of firmness and energy by General Jackson, they returned to Fort Strother.

The discontent of the troops was but little abated after their return to Fort Strother. The arrival of a sufficient supply of stores obviated the necessity for food; yet the minds of the soldiers having been once fixed upon the prospect of quitting the toils and privations of military life, could not easily be brought to relinquish the favourite idea of returning to their homes. The troops remonstrated against their detention, whilst the general resorted to every expedient to induce them to remain. He addressed a letter to the governor of Tennessee for instructions; and in his reply the governor, in consequence of the disaffection of the troops, and the reluctance they manifested at remaining, was induced to recommend an abandonment of the expedition. General Jackson no longer attempted to detain his men, but dismissed the discontented.

The governor of Tennessee was soon aware of the error into which he had been led, by recommending an abandonment of the expedition, and, affected by the expostulations of General Jackson, and the difficulties which surrounded him, he set himself vigorously to work in applying a remedy. He ordered a levy of twenty-five hundred men from the second division, to assemble at Fayetteville on the 28th of January, to serve for a period of three months. Brighter prospects now began to dawn upon General Jack-

son, and after encountering the most appalling difficulties with an energy and decision, which compelled even his enemies to acknowledge, "that he made the most extraordinary efforts, and that it is no more than charitable to believe that he was actuated by the love of his country, *while acting in opposition to her laws.*"

The forces under the command of General Claiborne, General Floyd, and General Jackson, acted in concert in the prosecution of the Creek war. The latter was constantly advised of the movements of the former, and always exerting himself to render them assistance. About the 1st of January, 1814, he received the cheering intelligence that General Claiborne had achieved an important victory upon the Alabama, more than one hundred miles from Fort Strother, his head quarters.

The newly raised Tennessee volunteers arrived at Fort Strother, and joined the forces of General Jackson about the middle of January, 1814, and soon after their organization, took up the line of March for Talladega. The whole force led on by General Jackson, consisted of the volunteers, two mounted regiments, an artillery company, three companies of foot, and a company of volunteer officers, nine hundred and thirty in all. Two or three hundred friendly Creeks and Cherokees joined them at Talladega. With this force he continued his march to Emuckfaw river, where a large body of the enemy had collected.

On the 21st, he approached the neighbourhood of the enemy. At daybreak the next morning, the Creek warriors drove in the sentinels, and vigorously charged the left flank. The assault was bravely given and bravely received, and the battle was maintained with great spirit on both sides for half an hour.

At length the savages gave way on all sides. The majority refusing to ask for quarter, were slain by the victors. Continuing his march, General Jackson encountered other

bodies of Indians, and defeated them all. The loss of the Tennesseans in the several engagements was twenty killed and seventy-five wounded. The loss of the Indians was very severe—190 of their warriors were found dead upon the field.

This was an important victory, and contributed much towards weakening the power of the enemy, and of enabling General Jackson to bring the Creek war to a speedy termination. He marched his army back to Fort Strother unmolested by the savages, whose spirits were much depressed by the sanguinary conflict. This victory was followed by another obtained by the Georgia forces, under General Floyd.

It was now the 1st of February, 1814. General Jackson's forces were at Fort Strother, where, although in no immediate danger of famine, there was by no means a supply for any length of time. General Jackson, ever since he had commanded the army in the Creek country, had had his attention diverted from the great object of a general—the organization of his army—the introduction of correct discipline, and preparation for active service. Indeed, he had to perform the duty of commissary, quartermaster, and commander. Washington was often in his situation in the war of the revolution. He could find an excuse for his countrymen, in the then destitute state of the country; but for the contractors for the southern army in 1814, there was no excuse. In a country abounding in beeves, swine, and breadstuffs, an army had often been driven to mutiny and desertion through the apprehension of want. There is, probably, not an officer in the American service, but who will condemn the mode of supplying an army by contractors. They make the best terms they can with the government for themselves; the hardest possible terms for the seller of provisions, and often furnish the war-worn veteran with rations deficient in quantity, and miserable in

quality. They think of nothing but gaining a fortune, while the gallant soldiers, who are suffering by their frauds, and famishing by their avarice, are gaining victories for their country.

General Jackson had suffered too much, with his brave soldiers, for longer endurance. He supplied his army by his own agents, leaving the contractors to pay the expense. When no longer any cause existed for complaints in his camp, he silenced them. He caused a mutineer to be tried by a court martial; and when condemned to die, he approved of the sentence, and he suffered death. He ordered every officer to be arrested within his command, who should be found exciting mutiny or disobedience. He knew that a crisis had arrived when a great blow must be struck, or the expedition abandoned.

The Creeks had assembled in great force at the bend of the Tallapoosa, at a place called by the savages Tohopeka—by the Americans, the Horse-Shoe. At this place, the most desperate resistance was expected; and every measure, within the limited means of General Jackson, was resorted to, to meet it.

The 39th regiment United States infantry, under the command of Colonel Williams, had been ordered to join the army under General Jackson. It did not exceed six hundred men. By the middle of March, his whole force amounted to between three and four thousand. He then commenced his march. Upon the 21st, he established a fort at the mouth of Cedar Creek, and named it Fort Williams. Leaving a sufficient force to protect it, he renewed his march upon the 24th. Upon the 27th, a day which will be remembered in the traditional annals of the brave, the infatuated, the bloodthirsty Creeks, until they become extinct, General Jackson and his army reached Tohopeka.

There one thousand warriors had fortified themselves,

and determined to conquer or perish. Jackson's forces advanced to the attack with courage and steadiness, and the savages received them with a heavy fire. The struggle continued for five hours. More than 600 Indians were killed upon the field, and it is probable that very few escaped from the battle. About 250 women and children were made prisoners. The loss of the assailants was twenty-five killed and 160 wounded. After this decisive victory, General Jackson led his brave army to the Hickory Ground, where the survivors of the Creeks came to sue for peace.

Although the power of the Creeks was broken, it was notwithstanding deemed necessary to establish posts for the defence of the frontier settlements. With this view, General Jackson established a fort upon the Coosa, near its confluence with the Tallapoosa, which was named Fort Jackson. This completed the line of forts through Tennessee, Georgia, and the Alabama territory. The Georgia forces were now joined with those under the command of General Jackson; and on the 20th of April, Major-General Pinckney arrived at Fort Jackson, and assumed the command of the whole forces in the Creek country.

A most kindly interchange of courtesies here took place between these war-worn veterans in the service of their country. General Pinckney assumed the command of General Jackson's corps only to disband them, after expressing his exalted sense of their bravery and patriotism. On the 21st, the next day after General Pinckney assumed the command, he ordered the Tennessee troops to be marched home, and discharged; retaining, however, sufficient to garrison the established posts. General Jackson immediately took measures to comply with the order.

After the lapse of a few days, General Jackson commenced his march for Tennessee. On his arrival at Fayetteville, his troops were discharged, and returned to their

homes. The Tennesseans duly appreciated the services of General Jackson, in his successful prosecution of the Creek war; and wherever he went, he was welcomed by the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy and gratitude. In June, 1814, he was appointed brigadier-general in the army of the United States. About this period he was appointed a commissioner, to secure by negotiation what he had already acquired by arms.

The object of General Jackson and the other commissioners, was not so much to obtain new territory, as to secure the acknowledged territory of the United States from the future depredations of Indian hostility. On the 10th of August, 1814, a treaty was executed, which is before the public. It cut off the savages from all communication with the perpetual disturbers of our tranquillity, and secured to the government such privileges in their country, as placed the frontiers out of further danger from the Creeks. The speeches of the Indian chiefs, which were elicited upon the occasion, are worthy of preservation.

Weatherford, a brave, skilful, but cruel chieftain, whom Jackson had determined to put to death for heading the massacre at Fort Mimms, made a manly and dignified speech, and secured a pardon from the general, who could appreciate the feelings of the unfortunate brave.

But the peace which General Jackson concluded with the Creeks, was not a permanent one; those who were disaffected, and refused to acknowledge the national capitulation, resorted to the neighbourhood of Pensacola, and to the shores of the Escambia river, where they held themselves in readiness to act whenever a favourable opportunity should occur. The Spanish governor of Florida fostered and encouraged them in their hostility: although his government was ostensibly neutral, her predilections were, notwithstanding, strongly in favour of Great Britain, and she lost no opportunity of secretly

aiding the latter in her belligerent operations against the United States.

While General Jackson was concluding a treaty of peace with those of the Creeks, who were disposed to capitulate, he despatched some of his confidential officers to Pensacola, to observe the course pursued by Gonzalez Manriquez, the Spanish governor; and from the friendly Creeks, he was also daily receiving information which confirmed his suspicions of the reprehensible course which was being pursued by this minister of Spain.

In September, 1814, General Jackson had received no instructions from the war department, relative to the course to be pursued with the Spanish authorities in Florida. He sent a direct message to Governor Manriquez, requesting him to point out the course he was about to pursue. The correspondence that followed between him and General Jackson has long been before the public, and is too voluminous to be here inserted.

No specific object was effected by this correspondence, other than a full development of the inimical views entertained by the Spanish governor towards the United States, and General Jackson laid his plans of operation accordingly.

General Jackson was now commander-in-chief of the seventh military district, including the most important part of the southern section of the union. It was now altogether the most endangered part of it. The British admirals and British generals were concentrating their forces, with a determination to wipe off the disgrace which had with justice been attached to them—not so much from the defeats they had suffered, as from the vandalism they had displayed in the Chesapeake Bay, upon the Niagara frontier, and at the city of Washington. The utmost confidence was expressed by the British in America, of the success of this great and united effort of the armies and

navies of Britain; and a British commissioner at Ghent, who at this time was negotiating a peace with American commissioners, tauntingly remarked, that before they had time to conclude a peace, New Orleans and the states upon the Mississippi would be in possession of Sir Edward Pakenham!

The secretary of war, Mr. Monroe, incessantly exerted himself to second the measures of General Jackson. Having acquired Louisiana and the exclusive command of the Mississippi by negotiation, he was now called upon to defend it as the head of the war department. As there was, within the seventh military district, but a very small number of regular troops, the secretary made a requisition upon the executives of the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee, to have their full quota of militia in readiness for immediate service, at the command of General Jackson. Volunteers were again invited by General Jackson to resort to his standard, under which they had always conquered. The unbounded popularity of General Jackson induced the militia not only with promptness, but with animation, to repair to the rendezvous; and the Tennessee volunteers, under their gallant General Coffee, were again in motion.

General Jackson, before the middle of September, had established his head quarters at Mobile, waiting the arrival of the militia and volunteers, some of whom had to travel more than four hundred and fifty miles.*

Upon the 15th, Fort Bowyer, at the mouth of Mobile Bay, was attacked by the British, but successfully defended by Major Lawrence. General Jackson now determined to take the responsibility of marching into Florida and taking possession of Pensacola. This was a bold resolution, but one he considered justified by the intrigues of the Spaniards.

* Goodwin.

About the middle of October, General Jackson was joined by General Coffee, at the head of two thousand Tennessee volunteers and Mississippi dragoons. They were soon organized, and, General Jackson commanding in person, took up the line of march for Pensacola. On the 6th of November, he approached the place with his army. The Spanish governor was aware of his approach, and had fortified himself, in conjunction with the British forces, for resistance. The forts commanding the town were manned, batteries were laid in the principal streets, and the British vessels were moored in the bay, so as to command the approaches to the town. General Jackson halted with his army before the town, and despatched Major Pierre with a flag, to communicate the purpose of his visit. The garrison fired upon him, as he approached, in violation of the usages of civilized warfare, and the rights appertaining to belligerent armies. General Jackson sent the flag as a matter of courtesy, but the ungracious reception it met with, left him no other alternative than a "proclamation of his diplomatic character from the mouths of his cannon." He attacked them in their fortifications, stormed their works, captured all their munitions of war, and compelled the British forces at the place to leave in the night.

The operations of General Jackson in Florida, were executed with his usual energy and promptitude. He left Mobile on the 3d of November, arrived at Pensacola on the 6th—reduced it on the 7th—accepted the surrender of the Barancas on the 8th—and on the 9th, he commenced his march for Mobile, to defend Fort Bowyer.

But the attention of Jackson was now directed to New Orleans, the safety of which was seriously menaced. Notwithstanding the negotiations pending between Great Britain and the United States at Ghent, serious preparations were making for the invasion of Louisiana; and it

became evident, that, as an important preliminary step, the enemy would concentrate his whole force for an attack upon New Orleans, from the possession of which he would derive incalculable advantages. General Jackson, for a considerable length of time, had been the only general officer attached to the United States army in this district. General Winchester, of the United States army, arrived at length, and General Jackson assigned the command of the eastern section of his district, and immediately commenced his march for New Orleans.

This section of the Union was, at this period, far from being in a good state of defence. Its population was thin, and a great part of it consisting of slaves, added nothing to its means of defence, but required, on the contrary, a constant force to prevent its becoming a domestic enemy of the most dangerous kind. Its remote situation, pressing dangers near the seat of government, and other causes, had caused it to be left in a state of utter destitution, and dependent for defence upon its own resources. A country accessible by numerous inlets from the sea, was left undefended by any fortifications, except two; the principal much dilapidated, ill-provided, and very inadequately garrisoned, the other incapable of the slightest defence. A few gun-boats were the only maritime defence for those approaches; a flat-bottomed frigate, which would have proved effectual in the shallow waters that surrounded the coast, by some extraordinary policy, or culpable neglect, was left unfinished.

To add to the difficulties of the Louisianians, there existed division among them, not disaffection, but that confusion which naturally arises in times of danger, when there is no head, or one in which there is no confidence. Committees of defence were named by the citizens, exhortations were made to resist the enemy, and show that the insulting confidence he had expressed in the want of

attachment of a large portion of the state to the Union was false.

On the arrival of Jackson, he found the population prostrate with fear and despondency. He comprehended at a glance the difficulties that would obstruct a successful defence of the country, and while thousands of hearts were despairing, he resolved, with his wonted decision and energy, to surmount every obstacle, and defend or perish with his countrymen. He anticipated assistance from Governors Blount of Tennessee, and Shelby of Kentucky, and an augmentation of his force by the gallant soldiers of Mississippi; yet that he should receive the aid of these important auxiliaries, was uncertain.

From the first moment of his arrival, the confidence of the inhabitants in him begat confidence in themselves. He visited the forts; he organized the scanty force which was placed under his command; he addressed to them the inspiring language which promised future victory.

Before his arrival at New Orleans, the governor of the state had confidentially advised him, that disaffection existed to an alarming degree, particularly amongst the French population in the state; and that the legislature was not free from suspicion. With the impression which this notice was calculated to produce, on his arrival for the first time in the country, unacquainted with the language spoken by a majority of the people, he thought himself obliged to assume such powers as alone could defeat the schemes of disaffection, if it existed, and to provide the means of defence which the government had neglected totally to do. This could not be done while the civil power was suffered to perform its usual functions; and he took, after severe deliberation, the decisive step of proclaiming martial law.

Having taken this important step, General Jackson incessantly engaged himself in erecting fortifications, and

disciplining his soldiers for defence. Fort St. Philips was selected as an eligible position, and Major Overton was appointed to the command of it. The naval force near New Orleans, consisted of small gun-vessels, under the command of Captain Patterson. On the 21st of December, General Coffee arrived with 1300 Tennesseans; and about the same time Colonel Hinds came with 180 of the Mississippi dragoons, and was soon followed by General Carroll with the remainder of the reinforcements from Tennessee. These brave men had marched a distance of 800 miles under the endurance of privations and hardships, which they met with a spirit of fortitude. The Kentucky troops, raised by the order of Governor Shelby, and commanded by General Thomas, had not yet arrived.

At length the storm which had been gathering, and of which General Jackson and his little band had calmly awaited the approach, burst over them. The little naval force at New Orleans, after a most gallant defence, fell into the hands of the enemy, and facilitated their operations; an outpost, which guarded one of the principal inlets, was surprised, and advancing through an uninhabited and uninhabitable country, the enemy was within seven miles of the city, on the banks of the river, before he was discovered. This was at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d December, one of the shortest days in the year. All the disposable force from different points was immediately collected. Before the sun had set, 1500 men, the greater part of whom were militia, some of whom were armed only with pikes, were on their march, with a perfect knowledge that they were about to attack, in the open field, three times their number, of the best disciplined, the best appointed troops in the world. They advanced as gaily, and cheerfully, as if they were going to a convivial feast, and before it was well night, they were in the midst of the enemy's camp. The remains of the gallant little navy, a single

schooner, under the brave Patterson, who himself took command of this small force, poured destruction into the ranks of the enemy. This was the signal of attack for the army on land.

The enemy at first gave way before the furious onset of the Americans; but they soon rallied, and an obstinate battle followed. Their loss was very heavy. As nothing decisive could be effected in a night attack, General Jackson contented himself with striking a severe blow to intimidate an over-confident enemy and retired to his lines.

On the 24th, General Jackson took his final position. It extended in a direct line from the east bank of the Mississippi, into the edge of the Cypress Swamp, a distance exceeding a mile. For the whole distance, the troops almost incessantly laboured, and with a vigour worthy of the cause that called forth their laborious exertions, in throwing up a strong breastwork, under the protection of which they were to be entrenched. From the bank of the river to the edge of the Cypress Swamp, a distance of very near a mile, the country was a perfect plain. The small force under General Jackson were in full view of the greatly superior force in the British camp.

On the first of January, the British forces placed themselves in a hostile attitude, pushed forward their heavy artillery, commencing at the same time an attack with bombs and rockets upon the whole American line, from the Cypress Swamp to the Mississippi. The charge was returned with much gallantry and spirit by the American troops; the musketeers and riflemen, together with the artillery planted upon the intrenchments, opened upon them a flood of death, and the battle raged till the approach of darkness put an end to the conflict, and induced the British assailants to retire to their lines.

Both armies having received large reinforcements, Sir Edward Pakenham fixed upon the 8th of January for the

grand attack. The signal for battle was given at daybreak. A detachment of the enemy under Colonel Thornton, proceeded to attack the works on the right bank of the river, while General Pakenham with his whole force, exceeding twelve thousand men, moved in two divisions under Generals Gibbs and Kean, and a reserve under General Lambert. Both divisions were supplied with scaling-ladders and fascines, and General Gibbs had directions to make the principal attack. The whole British force advanced with much deliberation in solid columns, over the even surface of the plain in front of the American entrenchments, bearing with them, in addition to their arms, their fascines and ladders, for storming the American works. The enemy approached within reach of the batteries, which opened upon them an incessant and destructive tide of death. They continued, however, to advance with the greatest firmness, closing up their lines as they were opened by the fire of the Americans, till they approached within reach of the musketry and rifles; these, in addition to the artillery, produced the most terrible havoc in their ranks, and threw them into the greatest confusion. Twice were they driven back with immense slaughter, and twice they formed again and renewed the assault. But the fire of the Americans was tremendous. Every discharge swept away the British columns like an inundation—they could not withstand it, but fled in consternation and dismay. Vigorous were the attempts of their officers, to rally them; General Pakenham in the attempt was killed. General Gibbs and Kean succeeded, and attempted again to push on their columns to the attack, but a still more dreadful fatality met them from the thunders of the American batteries. A third unavailing attempt was made to rally their troops by their officers, but the same destruction met them.

General Gibbs fell mortally, and General Kean desperately wounded, and were borne from the field of action.



BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

The discomfiture of the enemy was now complete; a few only, of the platoons, reached the ditch, there to meet more certain death. The remainder fled from the field with the greatest precipitancy, and no farther efforts were made to rally them. The intervening plain between the American and British fortifications, was covered with the dead; taking into view the length of time and the numbers engaged, the annals of bloody strife, it is believed, furnish no parallel to the dreadful carnage of this battle. Two thousand, at the lowest estimate, fell, besides a considerable number wounded. The loss of the Americans did not exceed seven killed and six wounded. General Lambert was the only superior officer left on the field; being unable to check the flight of the British columns, he retreated to his encampment.

In the mean time Colonel Thornton, with his British, had been successful on the other side of the river, and had captured a very important post. The enemy were not in a condition to take advantage of this success, and they were induced to abandon the captured post. Some days afterwards the invaders retired to their fleet and sailed away from the city where they had been so completely discomfited.

On the 13th of February, the victorious general received the news of peace, and he then bade farewell to his gallant troops.

Before the enemy had entirely left the coast, General Jackson became involved in difficulties with the civil authorities of New Orleans. He imprisoned an editor who had influenced mutiny and desertion in the camps, and when Judge Hall sought a release by issuing a writ of *habeas corpus*, the general resisted. When peace was announced, Jackson was arrested and brought before the judge to answer for contempt of court. His defence was refused a hearing, and a fine of a thousand dollars was imposed upon him. This he paid before the indignant

populace could raise the sum by subscription, which was immediately started. He afterwards had a triumphant reception in New Orleans, where the people took every means of showing their gratitude for his vast services.

General Jackson now returned to Tennessee, and established his head quarters at Nashville. He continued to receive flattering indications of the gratitude of his countrymen by votes of thanks, medals, and offers of public dinners. The Congress of the United States, besides complimentary resolutions, ordered a gold medal to be presented to him, commemorative of the battle of New Orleans.

The general remained in private life, though still holding his commission, until 1818, when the Seminole Indians of Florida began hostilities. The government ordered General Gaines to protect the frontier; he erected forts and strove to bring the Indians to terms, but in vain. Early in 1818, a party of thirty-six troops were massacred at the mouth of the Flint river.

As soon as General Jackson received intelligence of the massacre, he raised 2500 men, marched against the Micasuky villages, burned them, and then hurried to St. Mark's, a Spanish post on the Appalachee Bay, Florida. A Scotchman named Arbuthnot and a British lieutenant named Ambrister, were captured near that post, and brought before a court-martial upon the charge of exciting the Indians to hostility. They were both convicted, and by order of General Jackson, one was hung and the other shot. These decisive measures struck terror into the enemy. About the middle of May, the general took possession of Pensacola and Fort Barancas, and captured and hung two Indian chiefs. Early in June, he informed the secretary of war that the contest might be considered at an end. He then retired to Nashville, and shortly afterwards resigned his commission. His summary proceedings had brought much censure upon him, but he con-

sidered that they were demanded by the circumstances of the time.

In 1819, General Jackson visited Washington, where he had the gratification of finding that a majority of the members of Congress approved of his course. Resolutions of censure were rejected. After a short tour, the general returned to Nashville.

He was not, however, permitted long to enjoy the repose he so much needed. In May, 1822, the legislature of Tennessee nominated him a candidate for the presidency of the United States. He was elected in the autumn of the same year to the United States Senate. A new tariff was enacted the next session, which received his support.

The second term of office exercised by Mr. Monroe as president of the United States, was approaching its termination, and the question of his successor was at this period agitated with much bitterness of party spirit throughout the Union. The candidates were General Jackson and Henry Clay, of the west, Messrs. Crawford and Calhoun, of the south, and John Quincy Adams, of the north.

While the friends of the several candidates were pressing the claims of their respective favourites, General La Fayette made his memorable visit to the United States. The tour which he made of the United States brought him at length to Nashville, Tennessee, where he visited General Jackson.

Mr. Calhoun withdrew from the canvass of 1824, and the contest was maintained between the other candidates, the result of which was, no choice by the people. General Jackson received ninety-nine electoral votes; John Quincy Adams eighty-four; William H. Crawford forty-one; and Henry Clay thirty-seven. Consequently the choice, by a constitutional provision, devolved on the House of Representatives.

Mr. Adams was chosen. The friends of Jackson were

much irritated at this, because they believed that he had a majority, or at least a plurality, among the people. From that time forward, they bent all their energies to secure his triumph at the next election. In 1825, he was nominated for the presidency by the legislature of Tennessee, and he immediately resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States. He retired to the Hermitage. On the 8th of January, 1828, he was at New Orleans, participating in the celebration of his great victory amid applauding thousands. He returned home shortly afterwards. In the autumn of the same year, he was chosen to the presidency of the Union by a large majority.

On the 4th of March, 1829, General Andrew Jackson was installed in his office, John C. Calhoun taking the seat of vice-president. The cabinet was composed of Martin Van Buren, as secretary of state; Mr. Ingham, as secretary of the treasury; Mr. Eaton, as secretary of war; Mr. Branch, as secretary of the navy; Mr. Berrien, as attorney-general. The inaugural speech of General Jackson was expressed with much moderation. After detailing the different duties which devolved on him, as the head of the executive, he explained the principles by which he was resolved to be guided in discharging them.

The principal topic of discussion upon the assembling of Congress was the tariff act, which had been, from the moment of its passing, a subject of violent contention and popular irritation between the Northern and Southern States.

In 1832 an act was passed which lowered the duties upon some articles; but it was far from meeting the wishes of Georgia and the Carolinas. They regarded it as a miserably scanty relief, and as it was the only amount of concession to be obtained from the Northern States, they had nearly resolved to throw off the sovereignty of the confederation. After the adjournment of Congress in July,

these sentiments were sounded through the Southern States. South Carolina took the lead. A convention assembled at Columbia from all parts of the state, declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void, and not binding on the citizens of the state; that if the United States should attempt to enforce them by naval or military force, the Union was to be dissolved, and a convention called to form a government for South Carolina. A convention, denominated from their acts, "Nullifiers," went to still further lengths. In November, the legislature of South Carolina passed acts authorizing the governor to provide means of repelling force by force.

While civil war and a dissolution of the Union seemed thus to be approaching, General Jackson, his four years having expired, had been re-elected president. On the assembling of Congress, the attitude of South Carolina and the financial legislation which had produced it necessarily formed the principal topics. His message was followed, on the 10th of December, by a proclamation, in which he both argued the question with the Nullifiers, and announced that he would not hesitate to bring them back to their duty by force.

Happily, there was no occasion to resort to arms. The agitation continued, however, until the spring of 1833, when the question was settled by the passage of a compromise bill, proposed by Henry Clay, of Kentucky. By this measure, the duties were gradually reduced until 1842.

The next cause of public excitement was the president's veto of a bill passed by Congress, to re-charter the United States Bank. Believing that institution unconstitutional, he refused his sanction to its continuance. The veto message was dated July 10, 1832. This was a bold act, performed in opposition to the great moneyed power of the country, and it took the majority by surprise. In 1833, he followed up his policy of divorcing bank and state, by the

“removal of the deposits” from the United States Bank, placing them in the local banks. On whichever side the right and law might be, the conduct of the president led to disastrous results in the mercantile world. The deposits being withdrawn, the bank necessarily diminished its issues, and lessened its discounts; all operations of buying and selling were thus discouraged and impeded; a stagnation of trade ensued; property was depreciated; and bankruptcies and failures were multiplied on all sides.

During the year 1834, the United States continued to be agitated by the consequences of the acts of the president. The House of Representatives was inundated with petitions for the restoration of the public money to the vaults of the bank; but the majority of the members were favourable to the measures of the president; whilst the Senate was arrayed in open hostility to his measures, and refused to confirm his appointment of directors for the bank on behalf of the government shares.

In his message of December, 1834, the president called attention to the rejection, by the French Chamber of Deputies, of the bill for the indemnification of the United States for losses sustained in consequence of the Berlin and Milan decrees. He suggested to Congress retaliatory measures, and his whole message breathed a warlike spirit. The Senate, however, differed from the president upon the subject, and after much deliberation, unanimously adopted the following resolution, on the 14th of July, 1835: “That it is inexpedient at present to adopt any legislative measures in regard to the state of affairs between this country and France.”

The French minister was recalled, the American government being at the same time assured that the bill should nevertheless be presented to the Chambers. Mr. Livingston was instructed to return home in the event of the refusal of the French government to pay the money. A bill passed

the Chambers, authorizing the payment of the money, after satisfactory explanation had been given to France of the president's language. In December, the president met Congress, and declared that there was nothing to explain, and that in any event he would never allow a foreign power to found demands upon the interior and official communications of one department of the American government with another. Great Britain then tendered her mediation, and both parties accepted the offer. During this year, the whole debt of the United States was paid off. The majority which the friends of the president had secured in one branch of the legislature, rendered all the efforts of his opponents to recharter the bank abortive, and its concerns were consequently wound up.

On the 19th of July, a party of Seminole Indians crossed their bounds, near the Hogs-Town settlement, for the purpose of hunting. They separated, and agreed to meet again on a certain day. On that day, five of them were met together, when a party of white men came by and commenced flogging them with their cow-whips. Two other Indians came up and fired upon the whites, who returned the fire. Three whites were wounded, and one Indian killed and one wounded. On the 6th of August, Dalton, a mail carrier, was killed, and the Indians refused to deliver the murderers up to justice. In September, a party of Micasuky Indians, led by the celebrated Osceola, waylaid and shot Charley Omathla, a powerful friendly chief, who was journeying with his daughter. General Clinch, who commanded a small force in this section of the country, obtained a body of 650 militia from the governor of Florida, and commenced operations against them, on the Ouithla-coochee river.

On the 23d of December, two companies of the United States army, under command of Major Dade, marched from Tampa Bay for Camp King. From Hillsborough Bridge,

Major Dade sent a letter to Captain Belton, urging him to forward a six-pounder which had been left behind. Horses were procured, and the piece was received by the detachment that night. Soon after the six-pounder joined the column, a shot was heard in the direction of the advanced guard, which was soon followed by another, when a volley was suddenly poured in on the front and left flank. Half the men were killed or wounded at the first fire, and until several volleys had been received, not an enemy could be seen. The Indians fired lying or squatting in the grass, or from behind pine trees. The infantry threw themselves behind trees and opened a sharp discharge of musketry. Several pounds of cannister were fired from the cannon, and the Indians temporarily retreated. The detachment instantly proceeded to form a breastwork by felling trees, but had scarcely commenced when the enemy returned to the fight. The infantry immediately took shelter behind trees; but they were all gradually cut down by the overwhelming force opposed to them. When all resistance had ceased, the Indians leaped into the breastwork, and stripping off the accoutrements and arms from the dead, carried them away. Of eight officers and 102 privates, but four escaped alive from the scene of the action, one of whom was shot the day after the battle.

The money due for depredations under the Berlin and Milan decrees, was received from the French government in 1836, and made a large surplus in the treasury. Much debating occurred in Congress about the disposal of the surplus revenue, which was now kept in state banks, selected by the secretary of the treasury. The expiration of the charter of the United States Bank was followed by the creation of a large number of state banks, whose capital was chiefly nominal, the largest being the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, with a capital of thirty-five millions of dollars. The great increase of the circulating medium

which followed the creation of these banks, produced and nourished all manner of wild speculations, particularly in unappropriated public lands.

In the middle of the year, Congress adjourned, and the excitement of the presidential election followed, General Jackson's second term having expired. The friends of the existing administration supported Martin Van Buren, of New York, who was the more easily elected from the circumstance that three different candidates were pposed to him. The next year opened upon the people of the United States under very inauspicious circumstances. A sense of approaching disasters pervaded all classes, and the spirit of unbounded speculation was succeeded by one of general despondency and distrust. Many efforts were made by the merchants and bankers to avert them, but with very partial success.

During the winter session, a bill was brought before Congress, recognising the independence of Texas. The consideration of it was, however, postponed, and a salary was appropriated for a Texan chargé d'affaires, whenever the president should think proper to appoint one. This he did before the close of his administration.

The Indian war was continued in Florida during the year 1836. The plantations and settlements in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine were ravaged by the enemy, the inhabitants slain, and the negroes taken away; General Hernandez, who was in command, being too weak to offer any resistance. General Gaines had collected a body of volunteers from Louisiana, and near the end of February, moved down the Ouithlacoochee. A skirmish happened at General Clinch's crossing place, another on the 28th, and a third, in which numbers were engaged, on the 29th, when General Gaines was wounded in the under lip. These skirmishes continued till the 5th of March, when Osceola demanded a

parley, which was broken up, without any satisfactory conclusion.

Before closing our account of General Jackson's administration, it is proper to notice the troubles with the Indians on our north-western frontier, called Black Hawk's War.

In the summer of the year 1832, difficulties with the savages broke out, owing partly to their dissatisfaction with the stipulations in the Prairie du Chien treaty of 1823, and partly to the injustice of the settlers towards their red neighbours. Eight of a party of twenty-four Chippewas, on a visit to Fort Snelling, were all killed or wounded by a party of Sioux, four of whom were afterwards captured by the commander of the garrison and given up to the Chippewas, who immediately shot them. Red-Bird, the Sioux chief, chose three companions, and they set about seeking revenge. Four or five whites were killed by them, when General Atkinson captured Red-Bird, and a party of hostile Winnebagoes, in the country of that tribe. Red-Bird died in prison soon after, and his companions—one of whom was the celebrated Black Hawk—were released from confinement. Black Hawk immediately commenced exciting hostility among the already disaffected tribes, among whom the Sacs bore a prominent part. Towards July, General Gaines marched to the Sacs' village, and they humbly sued for peace, which was granted. Meanwhile a party of them, under Black Hawk, murdered twenty-eight of the friendly Menominies, and recrossed the Mississippi to the lands which they had ceded to the United States. General Atkinson marched after him, and at Dixon's Ferry, on Rock river, May 15th, 1833, learned that a party of 275 men, under Major Stillman, had been attacked at Sycamore creek, on the preceding day, while incautiously marching after the Indians, and lost a great many of their number, the Indians having suffered but little.

The cholera broke out among the troops, in July, and

whole companies were nearly broken up; in one instance, nine only surviving, out of a corps of two hundred and eight. Twelve Indians were killed by General Dodge's men, at Galena, and sixteen others afterwards fell by his arms, about forty miles from Fort Winnebago. Meanwhile, General Atkinson, with an army greatly superior to that of Black Hawk, pursued him through trackless forests, always finding himself no nearer his enemy at the end of his journey, than he had been at its commencement. Finally, however, Black Hawk, seeing the necessity of his escape, and that it could not be effected with his whole force, sent his women and children down the Mississippi in boats, many of which fell into the hands of the whites. About four hundred of them were encamped on Bad Axe river, where they were discovered on the 1st of August, by the steamboat *Warrior*, which had been sent up the Mississippi with a small force on board, in hopes of finding them. In the action which ensued, twenty-three Indians were killed and many wounded, without any loss to the troops. After the fight, the *Warrior* returned to *Prairie du Chien*, and before she could return next morning, General Atkinson had engaged the Indians. The *Warrior* joined the contest, and the Indians retreated with considerable loss, thirty-six of their women and children being taken. Eight of the troops were killed and seventeen wounded in this engagement. Black Hawk was now pursued over the *Wisconsin*, and overtaken in an advantageous position at the foot of a precipice over which the army had to pass. The Indians fought with the fury of tigers, leaving one covert for another, and were only routed at the point of the bayonet. Notwithstanding the smallness of his force, which scarcely numbered three hundred men, Black Hawk maintained the battle for three hours, when he barely escaped, with the loss of all his papers, and one hundred and fifty of his bravest warriors, among whom

was Neopop, his second in command. A party of Sioux now volunteered to pursue the remainder of the enemy, of whom they succeeded in killing about one hundred and twenty. The great chief himself was finally captured by a party of Winnebagoes and given up to General Street, at Prairie du Chien. Treaties were then made with the rest of the Sacs, the Foxes, and the Winnebagoes, by which the United States acquired some very valuable lands on favourable terms. Black Hawk, his two sons, and six of the principal chiefs were retained as hostages. The chief and his son were carried to Washington to visit the president, receiving many valuable presents on their route. They returned to their homes by way of Detroit, and were liberated at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, in Illinois, in August, 1833. He having been by the treaty deposed, Keokuk was made chief of the tribe, and Black Hawk settled on the Mississippi.

On the 4th of March, the term of General Jackson's presidency expired. After issuing a valedictory address, he retired to his residence in Tennessee.

Retiring to the Hermitage, General Jackson passed the remainder of his days in the quiet enjoyments of the social circle. He was a member of the Presbyterian church, and religious faith seems to have blessed the latter part of his life. He died at the age of seventy-eight years, on the 8th of June, 1845. He left no relatives, and his estate was bequeathed to the members of Mrs. Jackson's family.

General Jackson possessed a remarkable personal appearance. He was tall and thin, but strongly built. His countenance expressed keen penetration and stern decision, the features being very strongly marked. The brow was high, the eyes were gray and piercing, the nose was long, and the chin very heavy. Towards the end of his life he had a slight stoop in the back. The chief feature of his

character was a will that nothing could bend from its purpose. His passions were powerful, so that his friendship was to be courted and his hatred dreaded. His mind was powerful, and naturally of a military cast. He was evidently born to command. His patriotism was unquestionable. As a statesman, he must be admitted to have been bold and decided, and it is good evidence of the wisdom of his measures to find that the government has ever since sustained their principles. He left his name as strongly marked in our history as any other man, except Washington.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

THE successor of Jackson was a man of a very different mould. MARTIN VAN BUREN was bred in another school, and he grew up to public fame under other auspices. He was the first of the presidents born after the struggle for independence. He belonged to a new era, and no glorious traditions of the revolution were connected with his name. The high positions he attained were the results of success as a lawyer, politician, and statesman.

Martin Van Buren was the eldest son of Abraham Van Buren, an old resident of Kinderhook, Columbia county, New York, and was born at that place, December 5, 1782. Obtaining the rudiments of English, he early became a student in an academy of his native town, where he made rapid progress. He could not obtain a collegiate education; but at the age of fourteen, he commenced the study of the law in the office of Francis Sylvester, Esq. At that time, students with his poor advantages, were compelled to remain under tuition for seven years. But they were permitted to manage cases before justices of the peace; and in this business Martin displayed keen and ready talent.

The last year of young Van Buren's preparatory study was passed in the office of William P. Van Ness, a leader of the Democratic party in the city of New York. There he had every opportunity for acquiring a knowledge of political machinery, and he did not fail to improve his



chances. In November, 1803, Mr. Van Buren having reached the age of twenty-one years, was admitted to practise at the bar of the Supreme Court of the state. Soon afterwards, he returned to his native town, and entered into a legal partnership with his half-brother, James J. Van Allen.

At that time, the Federal party was in the ascendant in Columbia county, and a regard for interest would have induced most young lawyers to take the side of the dominant. But Mr. Van Buren avowed himself a Jeffersonian Democrat, and actively espoused the cause of the minority. In 1807, he was admitted as a counsellor in the Supreme Court, where he frequently encountered the ablest lawyers. The next year he received the appointment of surrogate of Columbia county. He then removed to Hudson city, where he resided seven years, and attained a high reputation for legal ability. His career as a lawyer closed in 1828. Upon the whole, it was honourable to his energy and ability. Mr. Van Buren married Miss Hannah Kees in 1806, and in 1818 she died of consumption, leaving him four sons.

The political career of the future president began when he was only eighteen years old. At that age, he was deputed by the Republicans of his native town, to represent them in a convention called to nominate a candidate for the legislature. He wrote an address to the voters of the district, and obtained much reputation among them in consequence. In 1812, when thirty years old, he was elected a senator over Edward L. Livingston, a powerful candidate of the Federal party. In the legislature he supported the measures of President Madison, and strenuously advocated the justice and expediency of the war against Great Britain. In 1815, he was appointed attorney-general of the state of New York, and a regent of the University. He was now considered as a leader of the Democratic party in the state, his only rivals being De Witt Clinton and Daniel D. Tomp-

kins. In 1816, he was re-elected to the State Senate for the term of four years. Two years afterwards he organized a formidable opposition to the administration of Governor Clinton, the leaders of which were long designated as the "Albany Regency." The two divisions of the Democratic party contended with great violence. In 1819, Mr. Van Buren was removed from the office of attorney-general. But when Clinton was re-elected, the office was again tendered him. He then declined it.

Early in 1821, Mr. Van Buren was elected to a seat in the United States Senate, and in August of the same year, he took a seat in the convention called to revise the constitution of the state of New York. In the latter body, he advocated the broadest Democratic measures. In December, 1821, he appeared in the United States Senate, and at once became known as an active and very influential member. He supported Mr. Crawford as a candidate for the succession to Mr. Monroe; and when John Quincy Adams was chosen, he threw all his influence against the administration, and in favour of the Jackson party. He was re-elected to the Senate in 1827, and upon the death of De Witt Clinton in 1828, he was chosen to succeed him in the gubernatorial chair of New York. Upon entering on the duties of his office, Mr. Van Buren devoted his attention to financial matters, and created the famous safety-fund system, which however, did not realize public expectation.

Upon the inauguration of President Jackson, he appointed Mr. Van Buren secretary of state. On the 12th of March, 1829, the latter resigned the office of governor, and soon afterwards began to perform the duties of the state department. Such a rapid succession of honourable offices had never been bestowed upon any American. As secretary of state he did not give general satisfaction. His instructions to Mr. M'Lane, minister to England, regarding the opening of the West

Indian ports to American vessels, were loudly censured; but he was sustained by the administration party. Mr. Van Buren's name now began to be mentioned in connexion with the presidency, and motives of delicacy induced him to resign the office of secretary of state (7th of April, 1831). Soon afterwards, he was appointed minister to England, whither he went; but on the next meeting of Congress, the Senate refused to sanction the president's selection. The administration party now regarded Mr. Van Buren as a kind of martyr; and when President Jackson was nominated for re-election, the rejected minister was selected as a candidate for the vice-presidency. The ticket was completely triumphant. On the 4th of March, 1833, Mr. Van Buren was inaugurated vice-president. He presided over the Senate with energy and ability for four years, when he was called to a still higher office, being nominated and elected by the Democratic party to succeed President Jackson. Colonel Richard M. Johnson was chosen to the vice-presidency at the same time.

Mr. Van Buren was inaugurated in the highest office in the gift of the Union, on the 4th of March, 1837. In his inaugural address, he expressed his cordial approval of the measures of his predecessor, and his determination to maintain the same policy.

The following gentlemen were continued in the cabinet offices to which they had been appointed by President Jackson:—John Forsyth, of Georgia, secretary of state; Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, secretary of the treasury; Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey, secretary of the navy; Amos Kendall, of Kentucky, postmaster-general; and Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, attorney-general. President Van Buren appointed Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, secretary of war.

The new president was scarcely seated in his chair, when the storm, so long collecting itself, burst upon the com-

mercial classes. It was at New Orleans that the first failures of any consequence were declared; but New York followed; the banks found the demands upon their funds increase with frightful rapidity, while, what was yet more ominous, their circulation returned upon them. The alarm broke out into a panic; then came a general "run" upon the banks; and a few days more sufficed to bring about the almost universal suspension of cash payments. It has been computed that in New York no less than two hundred and fifty houses stopped payment in the course of the first three weeks in April. The banks of that city, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Albany, and others, ceased to pay in specie. The mammoth Bank of the United States itself bent to the tempest, and imitated the example of the rest.

The secretary of the treasury, as soon as the suspension of cash payments became general, gave orders to the revenue collectors to receive nothing but specie, or paper convertible into specie on demand, in payment of the revenue bonds, given by traders in the course of business. Meanwhile, the distress spread, like a pestilence, through the various ramifications of society. Public works, railways, and canals, were brought to a stand; the shipwright and builder dismissed their men; the manufacturer closed his doors; one sentiment pervaded all classes, the anticipation of universal ruin and individual beggary. The administration made several endeavours to restore the financial affairs of the country to their former condition, and an extra session of Congress was convened on the 4th of September; the president, in his message, confining himself to the financial condition of the country. The friends of the administration triumphed in the election for speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Polk being re-elected. A bill was passed suspending the payment of the fourth instalment of surplus revenue to the states, until the 1st of January, 1839. Another bill was passed, authorizing

the issue of treasury notes, equal to any deficiency that might ensue, with four millions of dollars by way of reserve, at any rate of interest, not exceeding six per cent., to be fixed by the secretary of the treasury. A bill for the extension of the payment of revenue bonds, for a short period, and another, authorizing the warehousing in bond of imported goods, for a term not exceeding three years, were also passed during the session.

But a bill, organizing a sub-treasury system, whereby the nation should become its own banker, which the friends of the administration made great efforts to carry, was lost in the House of Representatives; after a very warm debate, that house resolved to postpone the further consideration of the measure until the next session. The war with the Seminole Indians continued during the year to employ the arms of the United States in Florida. The troops succeeded in taking the great chief Osceola, or Powell, whose capture, it was thought, would be followed by the submission of his tribe. Treaties were concluded with Siam and Muscat, which promised considerable commercial benefit.

During the early part of the next session of Congress, the Canadian rebellion and the border conflicts to which it gave rise, occupied the attention of that body, whose proceedings were marked by a becoming forbearance, even at a moment when out of doors the excitement of the more inflammable portion of the community was at its height. The president forbade by proclamation the interference of American citizens in the war, and ordered the United States marshal to execute warrants upon all those who should violate the national neutrality. General Scott was ordered to the frontier with a portion of the New York troops. But, whilst these efforts were making, an affair occurred on the frontier, which produced much ill feeling for a time, throughout the United States. A party of the Patriots had made a rendezvous on Navy Island, in the

Niagara river, opposite to which, on the American side, was a small village, denominated Fort Schlosser. On the night of the 28th of December, a small steamboat, called the *Caroline*, was moored there, intelligence of which was conveyed to Colonel M'Nab, commander of the Canadian militia on the opposite side. He had suspected her of carrying ammunition and supplies to the Patriots, and he resolved to destroy her. He accordingly despatched a party of militia in boats for this purpose. After a short scuffle, they became masters of the vessel, and then setting her on fire, they suffered her to drift in flames down the Falls of Niagara. Several persons were killed in the affray. This circumstance occasioned a correspondence between the secretary of state and Mr. Fox, the British minister at Washington, of a rather angry nature; and after a long debate, a bill for the preservation of neutrality was passed by Congress, and the matter dropped.

A bill giving a right of pre-emption to the first settlers on unoccupied public lands, was passed during the session, in conformity with the recommendation of the president. The sub-treasury bill, one of the cardinal points of policy of the Van Buren party, was again debated at full length, and passed the Senate; but its reception in the House of Representatives was less favourable; and in June, it was ultimately rejected. During the year 1838, the banks throughout the United States generally resumed specie payments. The effects of the commercial catastrophe were rapidly subsiding; credit revived, the prospects of trade in the autumn were encouraging, and the harvest was abundant. In the fall, the elections held throughout the Union continued the change in the numbers of the Van Buren party in Congress, which had been commenced in 1837, and the administration found itself likely to lose even the small majority which remained.

The contest between the state of Maine and Great

Britain respecting the north-eastern boundary, began in the course of the year to assume a threatening aspect. The north-western boundaries were fixed by a treaty with Russia, and land added to the territory of the United States by the removal of the tribe of Cherokees west of the Mississippi. The war with the Seminoles still continued. Texas withdrew her application for admission into the Union; but her consul at New Orleans was recognised by the president, who issued a public notice, according to him the enjoyment of all such functions and privileges as are allowed to consuls of the most favoured nations. At the end of the year, when the second Canadian outbreak occurred, a new proclamation was issued by the president, calling on the citizens of the United States to preserve neutrality, and declaring the protection of the country forfeited by those who should invade the territory of Great Britain with hostile intentions.

A convention for fixing the boundaries of the United States and Texas was concluded at Washington, on the 25th of April. Treaties had been concluded between the United States and the Peru-Bolivian confederation, and also with the king of Greece.

In his message to Congress on the reassembling of that body, the president touched upon the removal of many of the Indians west of the Mississippi. He then stated that no official communications had passed between the government and the cabinet of Great Britain, since the last communication to Congress. The president was, however, assured that the offer to negotiate a convention for the appointment of a joint commission of survey and exploration, would be met on the part of her majesty's government in a conciliatory spirit, and prove, if successful, to be an important step towards the final adjustment of the controversy.

The discussion of the question of the abolition of slavery

had been at length completely precluded by an act of Congress, which passed, at the beginning of the session, a series of resolutions to that effect, by the overwhelming majority of one hundred and ninety-eight to six. The excited feelings created by the recent collision of the citizens of the United States and the subjects of Victoria, on the borders of Lower Canada, had scarcely subsided, when the relations of the two countries were once more in the way of being gravely compromised by occurrences in the contested district between Maine and New Brunswick. It would appear that towards the end of January, 1838, a numerous band of British subjects invaded the portion of the territory in dispute between the United States and Great Britain, which is watered by the river Aroostook, and committed extensive depredations by cutting down the timber. An armed force was sent into the district to hinder the carrying off of the timber. This done, they were to return home; but for the seizure of Mr. M'Intyre, the American land agent, when he was in the act of putting himself into communication with the agent appointed by Sir J. Harvey, governor of New Brunswick, to watch the trespassers whom the officer of Maine had been commissioned to drive off. In retaliation, the English warden, Mr. M'Laughlin, was now arrested, and conveyed as a hostage to Bangor. These proceedings were followed by some angry correspondence between Governor Fairfield and Sir John Harvey, and the people of both states began seriously to prepare for hostilities.

Both the prisoners were, however, soon liberated on parole, and the discussion transferred to Washington. Several letters passed between Mr. Fox, the British minister, and Mr. Forsyth, which, with a message from the president, were laid before Congress. Many speeches were made in that body; several of the members advocating a forcible occupancy of the territory, whilst the others were more pacifically inclined. The debate in both houses closed by

referring the matter to the committee on foreign affairs, who recommended in their report that power should be given to the president to raise a provisional army during the Congressional recess; that appropriations should be made for fortifications, and the immediate repair and building of new vessels of war, and that the president should be instructed to repel any invasion of the territory of the Union in Maine. It was moreover recommended, that a special minister should be sent to England. The session of Congress shortly after came to an end. The war excitement in the north-east soon began to subside, and Messrs. Rudge and Featherstonhaugh were subsequently sent out by the British government, to conduct a new investigation of the still debateable territory.

Great dismay was created in the commercial world towards the close of the year, by the suspension of specie payments on the part of the United States Bank, on the 5th of October. Her example was followed by all the banks in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Virginia, and the interior of Pennsylvania.

The result of the election which occurred during the recess of Congress, was, that the government had a small majority in that body; but the two parties were nearly equally balanced in the House of Representatives, until the middle of July, when five members of the New Jersey delegation, whose seats had been contested, were added to the administration party, who thus gained the ascendancy. On the 24th of December, 1839, the president's message was delivered, and received the first action of Congress. It stated that with foreign countries, the relations of the government continued amicable. He referred to the arrival of the commissioners of exploration and survey of the north-eastern boundary. He also stated that the troubles in Canada had ceased. Treaties of commerce had been made with the king of Sardinia and the king of the Ne-

therlands. The relations with Mexico and Texas were touched upon, together with finance, the post-office, and the best method of keeping the public revenue. More than half of the message was occupied with a discussion on the evils of the American banking system, and a statement of the "constitutional" as well as other objections entertained by him to the establishment of a national bank, while, at the same time, he proposed that the public revenue should be kept in a separate and independent treasury, and collected in gold and silver. The Maine and New Brunswick boundary question continued this year still to keep up a feeling of irritation between England and America—and a long and recriminatory correspondence on the subject took place in the month of March, between Mr. Fox, the English minister, and Mr. Forsyth. It was concluded by Mr. Fox, in a brief reply to Mr. Forsyth's last letter, stating that he would transmit the communication to her majesty's government in England, and that until he received instructions from home, he would not engage in farther correspondence on the subject. In June, he addressed another letter to Mr. Forsyth, in which he stated that the most prominent among the causes of failure in past negotiations, had been a want of correct information as to the topographical features and physical character of the country in dispute. In consequence of his statements, and the recommendation of the president, a bill was passed in Congress, appropriating twenty-five thousand dollars towards the expenses of the survey of the disputed territory.

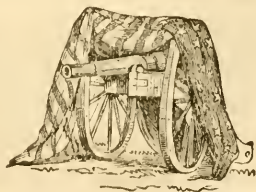
During the vacation of Congress, the election for president was held; Martin Van Buren and William Henry Harrison being the two candidates. The choice of the nation fell upon General Harrison, who was elected by a large majority.

The negotiations respecting the boundaries of the United States and the British provinces, and of the United States

and Texas, were stated by the president in his message to Congress in January, 1841, to be in a state of progression. The state of the public finances, and the reduction of expenditures during his administration, were dwelt upon, and he closed with a long vindication of his own financial policy.

On retiring from the presidency, Mr. Van Buren went to reside at Kinderhook, on his fine estate of "Lindenwald." He continued, however, to exert a powerful influence in his party. At the National Democratic Convention of 1844, he received a large vote, but did not obtain the nomination. He supported the candidates of the party, Messrs. Polk and Dallas, and greatly aided their triumph. In 1848, when General Cass was nominated for the presidency by the National Democratic Convention, a portion of the party withdrew, and nominated a "Free-Soil" ticket, with Mr. Van Buren, and Charles F. Adams, of Massachusetts, as candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. These nominations received a large vote in the Northern States, and defeated the regular candidates of the party. Since that period, the ex-president has not taken an active part in politics.

In person, Mr. Van Buren is of the middle size; his form being erect and robust. His eyes and hair are light, and his countenance indicates extraordinary quickness of apprehension, his forehead being broad and high, showing a comprehensive intellect. He has frank and easy manners, and, from his great conversational powers and imperturbable humour, is an ornament to the social circle.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

THE ninth president of the United States was WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON—who came recommended to his countrymen by a long train of public services, chiefly in the field. The people of the United States had previously shown a cordial willingness to give the highest honours to the war-worn and patriotic generals of the republic, and the elevation of General Harrison may be considered as another instance in which the same grateful spirit was manifested.

The subject of this memoir was the son of Benjamin Harrison, a prominent patriot of the revolution. He was born at Berkeley, Charles City county, Virginia, on the 9th of February, 1773. His distinguished father, dying in 1791, left him under the guardianship of the famous financier, Robert Morris, who superintended his education. William Henry graduated at Hampden Sidney College, and then turned his attention to the study of medicine. But he was destined for another profession. Before he had completed his medical studies, the atrocities of the Indians on the frontier so worked upon his feelings, that he determined to join the army, and fight in defence of the homes of his countrymen. Mr. Morris was opposed to this resolution; but President Washington expressed his cordial approval, and gave the enthusiastic young man, then but nineteen, the commission of ensign in a regiment of artillery.

Harrison immediately joined the north-western army,



then commanded by General St. Clair, and engaged in active service. In 1792 he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and in the following year, he joined the army under General Wayne. At the decisive battle of the "Fallen Timbers," Harrison was aid-de-camp to Wayne; and in the official despatch of the commanding general, he was complimented for his "conduct and bravery in exciting the troops to press for victory." The Indians were completely routed, and peace was concluded soon afterwards. Harrison was then promoted to the rank of Captain, and placed in command of Fort Washington. While at that post he married the daughter of John Cleves Symmes, the founder of the Miami settlements.

In April, 1798, Harrison was elected secretary of the North-West Territory, and in the next year, when a territorial government was organized, he was chosen a delegate to Congress. In that body he was very active, and his energy succeeded in procuring some important advantages for the country he represented. His promotion was rapid. In 1800, when a government was organized for Indiana territory, he was appointed governor.

In 1801, Governor Harrison entered upon the duties of his new office, at the old military post of Vincennes. The powers with which he was vested by law have never, since the organization of our government, been conferred upon any other officer,* civil or military; and the arduous character of the duties he had to perform, can only be appreciated by those who are acquainted with the savage and cunning temper of the north-western Indians; with the genius of the early pioneers, and the nature of a frontier settlement. The dangers of such actions as the battle of Tippecanoe, the defence of Fort Meigs, and the battle of

*Among his duties was that of commissioner to treat with the Indians. In this capacity, he concluded fifteen treaties, and purchased their title to upwards of seventy millions of acres of land.

the Thames, are appreciated and felt by all; and the victories which were consequent upon them, have crowned the victors with a never-fading wreath: but these acts, brilliant as they were, fade when put in comparison with the unremitting labour and exposure to which, for many years after the organization of the first grade of territorial government, the new executive was exposed. The whole territory consisted of three settlements, so widely separated that it was impossible for them to contribute to their mutual defence or encouragement. The first was Clarke's grant at the falls of Ohio; the second, the old French establishment at Vincennes; and the third extended from Kaskaskia to Kahokai, on the Mississippi; the whole comprising a population of about five thousand souls. The territory thus defenceless, presented a frontier, assailable almost at every point, on the south-east, north, and north-west boundaries. Numerous tribes of warlike Indians were thickly scattered throughout the northern portion of the territory, and far beyond its limits, whose hostile feelings were constantly inflamed by the intrigues of British agents and traders, if not by the immediate influence of the English government itself, and not unfrequently by the uncontrollable outrages of the American hunters themselves; a circumstance which it always has been found impossible to prevent, in the early settlement of the west. Governor Harrison applied himself with characteristic energy and skill. It seems truly miraculous to us, when we retrospect into the early history of his government, that he should have been able to keep down Indian invasion in the infant state of the territory, seeing the great capacity the savages displayed for harassing him at a period when his resources and means had so much increased. The fact proclaims loudly the talents of the chief. Justice tempered by mildness; conciliation and firmness, accompanied by a never slumbering watchfulness; were the means he used. These enabled him to surmount difficulties,

under which an ordinary capacity must have been prostrated. The voluminous correspondence of Governor Harrison with Mr. Jefferson, from 1802 till 1809, is a recorded testimony of the ability and success of his administration.

In September, 1809, a council was convened at Fort Wayne, at which Governor Harrison negotiated with the Miamies, Delawares, Pottawatomies, and Kickapoos, for purchasing a large tract of country on both sides of the Wabash, extending along that river more than sixty miles above Vincennes. Tecumseh, who was at this time absent on a visit to some distant tribes, expressed, on his return, great dissatisfaction, and threatened the lives of some of the chiefs who had concluded the treaty. On hearing this, the governor invited him to come to Vincennes, with the direction that he should not be allowed to bring with him more than thirty warriors; this restriction, however, he evaded, on the pretext of suspecting some treachery on the part of the Americans, and he, instead, brought with him four hundred men, armed. This circumstance alone was sufficient to excite the suspicions of the governor, but when, added to this, the chief refused to hold the council at the appointed place, which was under the portico of the governor's house, and insisted on having it take place under some adjacent trees, his apprehensions were still greater. At this council, held on the 12th of August, 1810, Tecumseh again complained of the alleged injustice of the sale of their lands; to which the governor replied, that as the Miamies had found it to their interest to make a disposal, the Shawnees, from a distant part of the country, could have no just ground for remonstrance, or right to control them in their disposing of the property. Tecumseh fiercely exclaimed, "It is false!" and giving a signal to his warriors, they sprang upon their feet, and seizing their war-clubs and tomahawks, they brandished them in the air, ferociously fixing their eyes upon the governor. The military

escort of Harrison on the occasion numbered only twelve, and they were not near his person, having been directed by him to retire for shelter from the heat, under some adjacent trees. In this critical moment of excitement, the guard immediately advanced, and would have instantly fired upon the infuriated Indians, had it not been for the coolness and self-possession of Harrison, who, restraining them, and placing his hand upon his sword, said, in a calm, but authoritative tone, to Tecumseh: "You are a bad man: I will have no further talk with you. You must now take your departure from these settlements, and hasten immediately to your camp." On the following day, however, finding he had to deal with one so dauntless, Tecumseh solicited another interview, apologizing for his insolent affront. The precaution was now taken to defend the town, and place the governor in an attitude more likely to command their respect, by having two companies of militia in attendance. At this council the chiefs of five powerful tribes rose up, declaring their determination to stand by Tecumseh; to which the governor replied, that "their decision should be reported to the president;" but adding, that he would most certainly enforce the claims of the treaty. Still anxious, if possible, to conciliate, rather than coerce the haughty chief, he paid him a visit the next day at his camp, when, repeating in substance what has already been given, Tecumseh replied: "Well, as the great chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head to induce him to direct you to give up this land. It is true, he is so far off that he will not be injured by the war; he may sit still in his town and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out." Shortly after this, the Shawnee chief withdrew to Tippecanoe, the residence of the Prophet, where he is said to have formed a combination of several tribes.*

* Statesman's Manual.

During the year 1811, the intrigues of British agents operating on the passions of the Indians, brought affairs to a crisis which rendered hostilities unavoidable. Tecumseh, and his prophet brother, had been labouring unceasingly, since 1805, to bring about this result. Harrison called upon Colonel Boyd, of the 4th United States regiment, then at Pittsburgh (who immediately joined him), and embodied a militia force as strong as the emergency would permit. To these were added a small but gallant band of chivalrous volunteers from Kentucky, consisting of about sixty-five individuals. With these he commenced his march towards the prophet's town at Tippecanoe. On the 6th of November he arrived in sight of the Indian village, and in obedience to his orders, made several fruitless attempts to negotiate with the savages. Finding it impossible to bring them to any discussion, he resolved to encamp for the night, under a promise from the chiefs to hold a conference next day. He sent forward Brigade Major Clarke and Major Waller Taylor, to select a proper position for the encampment. These officers shortly after returned, and reported that they had found a situation well calculated for the purpose, and on examination, the commander approved of it. Subsequent examination has proved that the ground was admirably adapted to baffle the success of a sudden attack, the only kind which the great experience of Harrison assured him would be attempted. The men reposed upon the spot which each, individually, should occupy, in case of attack. The event justified the anticipations of the chief. On the morning of the 7th, before daylight, the onset was made with the usual yells and impetuosity. But the army was ready; Harrison had risen some time before, and had roused the officers near him. Our limits do not permit us to enter into a detail of the action; the arrangement of the troops was masterly, and spoke the well educated and experienced soldier. The Indians fought with their

usual desperation, and maintained their ground for some time with extraordinary courage. Victory declared in favour of discipline, at the expense, however, of some of the most gallant spirits of the age. Among the slain were Colonels Daviess and Owen, of Kentucky, and Captain Spencer, of Indiana. Governor Harrison received a bullet through his stock, without touching his neck. The legislature of Kentucky, at its next session, while in mourning for her gallant dead, passed the following resolution, viz :

“*Resolved*, That Governor William H. Harrison has behaved like a hero, a patriot, and general; and that for his cool, deliberate, skilful, and gallant conduct, in the battle of Tippecanoe, he well deserves the thanks of the nation.”

From this period until after the declaration of war against England, Governor Harrison was constantly engaged in negotiating with the Indians, or preparing to resist their attacks. Shortly before the surrender of Hull at Detroit, Harrison was selected to command the volunteer forces of Kentucky; and after the disgraceful capitulation by Hull, he was elevated to the responsible post of commander-in-chief of the north-western army in compliance with the general wish. Since the battle of Tippecanoe he had been the most popular commander in the west.

General Harrison found himself placed at the head of the north-western forces, in the gloomiest period of the war, (September, 1812.) Volunteers flocked to his standard; but they required training, and to add to the difficulties of the commander-in-chief, supplies were not easily obtained. Yet he immediately prepared for an active campaign against the British and Indians. But he found it impossible to concentrate his forces at the Rapids of the Maumee, in proper season, and his general plan of operations was relinquished for the time. The massacre of Winchester's troops, at the river Raisin, contributed to the embarrassments of the general. He was then compelled

to construct a fortified camp at the Rapids, for the purpose of securing his very inadequate forces. This post was named Fort Meigs, after the patriotic governor of Ohio. There he was twice attacked by Proctor and Tecumseh; but each time he repulsed the assailants, and inflicted upon them a severe loss, as narrated in the account of the war of 1812, during the administration of President Madison.

Perry's victory upon Lake Erie decided the contest in the north-west. Having received all his reinforcements, Harrison embarked in the fleet on the 27th of September, 1813, and soon afterwards landed in Canada. The British General Proctor fled from Malden by the valley of Thames, and was followed with extraordinary rapidity by the American general. On the 5th of October, Proctor was overtaken near the Moravian villages.

The British and Indians occupied a strong position. One flank of the regulars was protected by the river, and the other by a morass. The Indians were posted between two morasses, the ground being unfavourable for the operations of cavalry. We quote the following account of the battle from Harrison's official despatch:

"The troops at my disposal consisted of about 120 regulars of the 27th regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteer militia infantry, under his excellency, Governor Shelby, averaging less than 500 men, and Colonel Johnson's regiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole an aggregate something above 3000. No disposition of an army opposed to an Indian force, can be safe, unless it is secured on the flanks and in the rear. I had therefore no difficulty in arranging the infantry conformably to my general order of battle. General Trotter's brigade of 500 men, formed the front line, his right upon the road and his left upon the swamp. General King's brigade, as a second line, 150 yards in the rear of Trotter's, and Childs's brigade, as a corps of reserve, in the rear of it. These three brigades

formed the command of Major-General Henry; the whole of General Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, were formed *en potence* upon the left of Trotter.

"While I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed Colonel Johnson's regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines opposite to the enemy, and, upon the advance of the infantry, to take ground to the left, and forming upon that flank, to endeavour to turn the right of the Indians. A moment's reflection, however, convinced me, that from the thickness of the woods and swampiness of the ground, they would be unable to do anything on horseback, and there was no time to dismount them and place their horses in security; I therefore determined to refuse my left to the Indians, and to break the British lines at once by a charge of the mounted infantry; the measure was not sanctioned by anything that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horseback from their earliest youth. I was persuaded, too, that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it. Conformably to this idea, I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of fifty yards from the road (that it might be, in some measure, protected by the trees from the artillery), its left upon the swamp, and to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy delivered their fire. The few regular troops of the 27th regiment, under the command of their Colonel (Paul), occupied, in column of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery, and some ten or twelve friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The *crotchet* formed by the front line and General Desha's division, was an important point. At that place, the venerable

governor of Kentucky was posted, who, at the age of sixty-six, preserves all the vigour of youth, the ardent zeal which distinguished him in the revolutionary war, and the undaunted bravery which he manifested at King's Mountain. With my aids-de-camp, the acting assistant adjutant-general Captain Butler, my gallant friend Commodore Perry, who did me the honour to serve as my volunteer aid-de-camp, and Brigadier-General Cass, who, having no command, tendered me his assistance, I placed myself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry, and give them the necessary support. The army had moved on this order but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge; the horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column, at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute, the contest in front was over. The British officers, seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only of our troops were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe with the Indians. Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians, still further to the right, advanced and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and, for a moment, made an impression on it. His excellency, Governor Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support, and the enemy, receiving a severe fire in front, and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation. Their loss was very considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat.

“I left the army before an official return of the prisoners,

or that of the killed and wounded, was made out. It was however, ascertained that the former amounts to 601 regulars, including twenty-five officers. Our loss is seven killed, and twenty-two wounded—five of which have since died. Of the British troops, twelve were killed and twenty-two wounded. The Indians suffered most—thirty-three of them having been found upon the ground, besides those killed on the retreat.

“On the day of the action, six pieces of brass artillery were taken, and two iron twenty-four pounders the day before. Several others were discovered in the river, and can be easily procured. Of the brass pieces, three are the trophies of our revolutionary war, that were taken at Saratoga and York, and surrendered by General Hull. The number of small arms taken by us and destroyed by the enemy, must amount to upwards of 5000. General Proctor escaped by the fleetness of his horses, escorted by forty dragoons and a number of mounted Indians.”

The victory of the Thames closed the war upon the north-western frontier. The president and Congress expressed their congratulations to the army, and two gold medals were ordered to be struck, emblematical of the triumph, and presented to General Harrison and Governor Shelby.

Soon after his greatest achievement in the field, General Harrison suddenly tendered his resignation. This was caused by the conduct of Secretary Armstrong, who gave instructions to superior officers without consulting the commander-in-chief. The resignation was accepted in the absence of President Madison, who afterwards expressed his deep regret.

Still, General Harrison was kept in the public service. In the summer of 1814, he was appointed in conjunction with Governor Shelby and General Cass, to treat with the Indians at Greenville. In 1816, he was elected to represent

the district of Ohio, in the House of Representatives of the United States, to fill a vacancy, and for the two succeeding years. Soon after he had taken his seat, his conduct as commander of the north-western army was censured by some members of Congress. At his request, a committee of investigation was appointed—Colonel R. M. Johnson being chairman. The result was a full and triumphant vindication of the general. While in Congress, Harrison coincided with the views of the leading statesman, Henry Clay, but disagreed with him when that distinguished man censured the conduct of General Jackson in the Seminole war. In 1819, General Harrison was elected a member of the Senate of Ohio. In 1824, as an elector of the state, he cast his vote for Henry Clay, as his choice for the presidency; and in the course of the same year, he was elected a member of the United States Senate.

While a national Senator, General Harrison supported the administration of John Quincy Adams; and in 1828, the president appointed him minister to the South American republic of Colombia. He did not remain long at Bogota, however; for one of the first acts of President Jackson was to recall him. Before leaving, Harrison addressed to General Bolivar an appeal in behalf of constitutional liberty, which has become a classic paper in both divisions of the American continent. In it, sound republican principles are enforced and illustrated with brilliant eloquence.

Returning to the United States, Harrison went to reside at his farm at North Bend, a few miles below Cincinnati. He accepted the small office of clerk of the court of Hamilton county as an additional means of support, being in rather straitened circumstances, and thus displayed a contempt of that false notion of dignity often held by those who have been in high office. In 1836, he was brought forward as a candidate for the presidency, in opposition to

the administration candidate, Mr. Van Buren. The nomination was entirely unsolicited. Hugh L. White, Daniel Webster, and Willie P. Mangum were the other candidates of the large party opposed to the Jackson policy. In spite of the divisions and the want of organization among the opposition, General Harrison received seventy-three electoral votes.

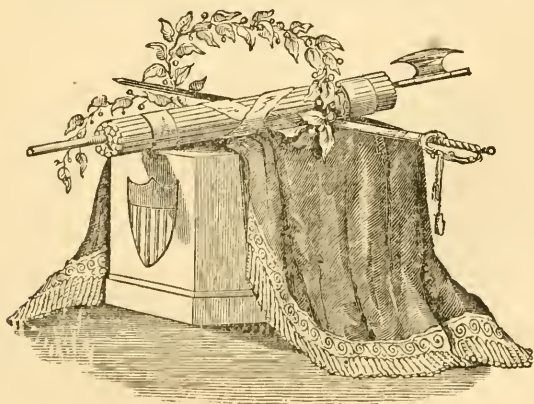
In December, 1839, the Whig party, to secure concerted action, held a national convention. After a three days' contest between the friends of Harrison, Clay, and Scott, the first mentioned received the party nomination for the presidency. John Tyler, of Virginia, was unanimously nominated for the vice-presidency. The canvass was a very exciting one; but at the election in 1840, Harrison and Tyler obtained an overwhelming majority—receiving 234 electoral votes, while but 60 were cast for Van Buren and Johnson.

On the 4th of March, 1841, General Harrison, then sixty-eight years of age, was inaugurated president of the United States. The inaugural address contained an able review of the powers granted to the general government—the modes in which they were liable to be abused. The principles advanced were decidedly democratic, and they were illustrated with an eloquence worthy of the author of the address to Bolivar.

The cabinet was composed of the ablest members of the Whig party. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, was appointed secretary of state; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, secretary of the treasury; John Bell, of Tennessee, secretary of war; George E. Badger, of North Carolina, secretary of the navy; Francis Granger, of New York, postmaster-general; John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, attorney-general. This cabinet was expected to perform much to raise the country from the depression caused by the financial policy of the previous administration.

On the 17th of March, President Harrison issued a proclamation, calling an extra session of Congress, to begin on the last Monday in May. But he did not live to fulfil the hopes of the country. After a few days' illness of bilious pleurisy, the president expired on the 4th of April—one month after his inauguration—at the age of sixty-eight years. With the last few words he was permitted to speak, he desired that his successor should understand and carry out the true principles of the government. He was the first president who had died in office, and the nation was deeply affected by his decease. Throughout the country funeral honours were awarded to the memory of the illustrious dead.

In person, General Harrison was tall and thin, but robust and hardy. The expression of his countenance was singularly mild and winning for a warrior; but his dark eye was full of fire and intelligence. His talents were of a high order. In speech he was eloquent and forcible; while in action he was energetic and determined. As a general, he was remarkable for fertility of resource. His bold and novel manœuvre at the battle of the Thames would alone secure him a permanent reputation.



JOHN TYLER.

THE constitutional provision, that in case of the removal of the president by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vice-president shall succeed to the first office, had no enforcement until the death of President Harrison. The peaceable succession of one who was not chosen to fill the post of commander-in-chief was a wonder to the nations of the old world, whose ideas of democracy were always associated with war and bloodshed, while it only struck the citizens of the great republic as a matter of course. Still, many who had voted to place General Harrison in the presidential chair, doubted the beneficial results of such a succession.

JOHN TYLER, the successor of President Harrison, was born in Charles City County, Virginia, on the 29th of March, 1790. He was descended from a family distinguished in the history of Virginia. His grandfather was marshal of the colony up to the time of his death, which occurred after the remonstrances against the stamp act; and his father was a distinguished patriot of the revolution, and afterwards governor of Virginia. After receiving the usual elementary instruction, the subject of this memoir entered William and Mary College. He graduated at the age of seventeen, with almost unrivalled honours. He then commenced the study of the law under his father and Edmund Randolph, and at nineteen years of age he was



admitted to practise his profession. This was certainly a precocious display of ability.

At twenty years of age, Mr. Tyler was offered a seat in the legislature; but he declined the honour until the following year (1811), when he was elected to the House of Delegates. Soon after taking his seat he came forward as an advocate of the war policy of Madison's administration, and delivered speeches which were certainly remarkable as coming from so young a man. He was elected to the legislature for five successive years. In the mean time, while the British forces were in the Chesapeake, he raised a volunteer company, and effected an organization of the militia in his neighbourhood. But he never had an opportunity to serve his country in the field.

In 1815, Mr. Tyler was elected a member of the Executive Council of Virginia; and he served in that position until November, 1816, when he was chosen over the popular Andrew Stevenson to represent the Richmond district in Congress. This was to fill a vacancy. But in the spring of the next year he was re-elected by a large majority over the same distinguished opponent.

In the House of Representatives Mr. Tyler advocated the Virginia doctrines of state-rights and strict construction, and opposed the national bank and a system of internal improvements. His speeches were numerous and effective. In 1819 he was re-elected without opposition. Before the end of the term, however, ill-health compelled him to resign his seat, and he retired to his estate in Charles City county. In 1823 he consented to become a candidate for the legislature, and was elected. As a state legislator he was active and influential. Many of the finest public works in Virginia were the result of his foresight and energy. The people of the state appreciated his services; and in December, 1825, he was elected governor by a large majority. His administration was energetic and beneficial

to the state in every respect. He was re-elected at the expiration of his term of office.

Not long after his re-election to the gubernatorial chair, John Randolph's term of office, as senator of the United States, expired. A large portion of the Democratic party were opposed to his re-election, as no reliance could be placed upon him. Governor Tyler consented to stand as the opposition candidate, and was chosen to the United States Senate by a majority of five votes. Upon taking his seat he joined the opposition to John Quincy Adams's administration. Upon the election of General Jackson he acted with the administration party; but not long afterwards he changed his side, believing that the president had wandered from the Democratic principles of Jefferson. He sympathized with Mr. Calhoun and his friends in opposition to the tariff, voted against the Force Bill, and spoke of the removal of the deposits as an outrage upon the laws. Still he continued an opponent of the national bank. He was re-elected to the Senate for six years from the 4th of March, 1833. Soon afterwards he distinguished himself by defending a report upon the affairs of the United States Bank, against the furious assaults of Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri. In March, 1835, Mr. Tyler was elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate, by the votes of the Whig and State-Rights senators. His senatorial career was cut short, however, by the legislature of Virginia passing resolutions instructing him to vote for the expunging of the Senate's resolution censuring General Jackson's conduct in the Seminole war. He believed in the "right of instruction," but as an obedience to the instructions in this case involved, in his opinion, a violation of the federal constitution, he thought proper to resign his seat.

In 1830, Mr. Tyler had removed from Charles City county to Gloucester, where his family resided until 1835. He then returned to Williamsburg, and devoted himself to

his private affairs. But his name was kept before the people. For in the same year, he was nominated by the State-Rights party for the vice-presidency. At the election in 1836, he received forty-seven electoral votes. In the spring of 1838, he was elected from James City county to the Virginia House of Delegates, where, during the subsequent session of the Legislature, he acted with the Whig party.

In 1839, Mr. Tyler was chosen a delegate from Virginia, to the Whig National Convention, which met at Harrisburg, to nominate candidates for the two great national offices. He there exerted himself to procure the nomination of Mr. Clay; but General Harrison obtained a majority of votes. To conciliate the friends of Mr. Clay, Mr. Tyler was then nominated for the vice-presidency. The party was triumphant—Harrison and Tyler were elected by a large majority.

On the 4th of March, 1841, Mr. Tyler was inaugurated vice-president of the United States, and one month afterwards, by the death of General Harrison, he became president. He immediately informed the members of the cabinet that he wished them to retain their offices, took the presidential oath, and then issued an address to the people of the United States, setting forth the principles that should guide his administration. A day of fasting and prayer, on account of the recent bereavement, was recommended to the people of the United States. The appointments were satisfactory to the Whigs, and they had confidence in the new president.

An extra session of Congress had been called by President Harrison. When it assembled on the 31st of May, 1841, the question arose whether Mr. Tyler should be addressed as president of the United States, or as vice-president acting as president. This was decided in favour of the first form. The message was considered satisfactory. The Whig majority in Congress immediately brought forward their great financial measures. A bill creating a

“fiscal bank of the United States,” on a new plan, passed both houses finally on the 6th of August. The president retained the bill until the 16th of August, and then returned it with a veto message. This astonished the Whigs. But in the message the plan of another bank was suggested; and a bill, creating such an institution, passed Congress. On the 9th of September, the president returned this bill with his objections. This veto was received by the Democrats with much exultation. The Whigs throughout the Union were indignant, and the president was denounced as a recreant. On the 11th of September, all the members of the cabinet resigned except Mr. Webster, who remained to manage some difficult foreign relations. At the same time, the party issued an address to the people of the United States, announcing that they did not recognise President Tyler as a Whig, and justifying the course of the majority in Congress. Before the extra session was concluded, a protective tariff, a bill for the appropriation of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, and a uniform bankrupt law, were adopted by Congress, and sanctioned by the president. These were Whig measures, and yet the president was not considered a member of the party.

The new cabinet was composed of distinguished Whigs and conservatives:—Walter Forward, of Pennsylvania, was named secretary of the treasury; John M’Lean, of Ohio, secretary of war; Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, secretary of the navy; Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, postmaster-general; Hugh S. Legare, of South Carolina, attorney-general. John M’Lean declined to resign his seat in the Supreme Court; and John C. Spencer, of New York, was then appointed to the war department. This was considered an efficient cabinet. In 1842, Mr. Webster, secretary of state, negotiated with Lord Ashburton, special minister from Great Britain, at Washington, a treaty settling the north-eastern boundary question, providing for the final

suppression of the African slave trade, and for the surrender of certain fugitives from justice.

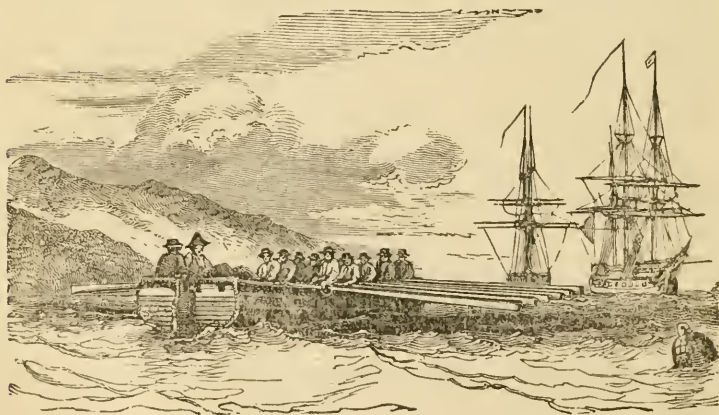
In March, 1843, Mr. Forward retired from the treasury department, and Mr. Spencer, of the war department, was transferred to that post. Other changes were made in the cabinet. By an explosion on board of the steamer Princeton, on the Potomac, Mr. Upshur, who had succeeded Mr. Webster in the state department, and Mr. Gilmer, secretary of the navy, were killed. Finally, the cabinet was organized as follows:—John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Secretary of state; George M. Bibb, of Kentucky, secretary of the treasury; John Y. Mason, of Virginia, secretary of the navy; William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, secretary of war; Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, post-master-general, and John Nelson, of Maryland, attorney-general.

In 1843 an important treaty was negotiated with China, by Caleb Cushing, commissioner to that empire. But the annexation of Texas was the last great measure of the Tyler administration. On the 12th of April, 1844, a treaty was negotiated at Washington, by Secretary Calhoun, on the part of the United States, and Messrs. Van Zandt and Henderson, on the part of Texas, providing for the annexation of the "lone star republic." The Senate rejected this treaty. But at the presidential election, Messrs. Polk and Dallas, the democratic candidates, who were in favour of the scheme, obtained a triumph, and measures were immediately taken to bring about the annexation. Joint resolutions for that purpose passed Congress on the 1st of March, 1845, and President Tyler immediately gave them his sanction. On the 4th of March Mr. Tyler retired from office, without carrying with him the sympathies of either of the great parties.

In person Ex-President Tyler is tall and thin. His complexion is light, his eyes blue, his forehead high, and

his nose prominent. His manners are easy, and his amiability and conversational powers render him an ornament to the social circle. He is a fluent and elegant orator, and a skilful writer. His rise was extraordinary, but not beyond his capabilities. As a statesman he was rather vacillating, but, on some occasions, very energetic.

In 1813 Mr. Tyler married Miss Letitia Christian, of Virginia. This lady died in Washington, September, 1842, leaving three sons and three daughters. In June, 1844, Mr. Tyler married Miss Julia Gardiner, of New York, a young, beautiful, and wealthy lady. Mr. Tyler now resides near Williamsburg, Virginia.





JAMES KNOX POLK.

THE successor of President Tyler was a steady and unflinching supporter of the policy inaugurated by General Jackson and carried out by Martin Van Buren. His election must be considered extraordinary when we remember that four years previous the Whig nominees had triumphed by an overwhelming majority. Such fluctuations in partisan success show how rapid are the changes of opinion in American politics, and how difficult is a calculation of probabilities.

JAMES KNOX POLK was born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, November 2, 1795. He was the eldest son of Samuel Polk and Jane Knox, parents of moderate means, but highly respectable connexions. In 1806 the Polk family emigrated to Tennessee, and settled in the rich valley of the Duck river, a tributary of the Tennessee, the tract of country being soon afterwards formed into the county of Maury. James passed his boyhood upon his father's farm; but he evinced a strong inclination for learning. The opportunities for instruction in the new state were very limited. A good English education was the utmost that the majority could hope to obtain. Young Polk was compelled, by ill-health, to relinquish even the studies that were accessible; and his father placed him with a merchant, to fit him for an active business life. This was disagreeable to the ambitious youth. After

remaining a few weeks with the merchant, James succeeded in gaining permission to return home and resume his studies. In about two years and a half he prepared himself for an advanced class in college, and in the fall of 1815 he entered the University of North Carolina. He graduated in June, 1818, with the highest distinction.

Mr. Polk selected the profession of the law, and commenced his studies in Nashville, in the office of Felix Grundy, a lawyer and politician of wide reputation. Under the able guardianship of Mr. Grundy, and with the cordial friendship of General Jackson, the young student had the best opportunities for advancement, and he did not fail to improve them. Towards the close of 1820, Mr. Polk was admitted to the bar, and he then began to practise in Columbia, Maury county. As his connexions were very influential in that part of the country, his success was immediate and complete.

Mr. Polk entered political life at an early age. He was an ardent supporter of the Jeffersonian party—or that which he believed to be such—and being a ready, fluent, and persuasive speaker, he soon became known as one of its advocates. His first public employment was as chief clerk of the House of Representatives of Tennessee. In the summer of 1823 he was elected to represent Maury county in the legislature. He remained in that body two years, taking an active part in legislation. During this period he married Sarah Childress, the daughter of a wealthy and enterprising merchant of Rutherford county, Tennessee.

In the spring of 1825, Mr. Polk came forward as a candidate for Congress, and in August of the same year he was elected by a flattering vote. Soon after taking his seat in the national house, he became distinguished as a ready debater, and an active and influential member. He was a warm supporter of General Jackson for the pre-

sidency, and defended all the bold measures of that distinguished man after his election. The Jackson party in the House regarded Mr. Polk as their leader in all debates upon the bank, tariff, and internal improvement questions. In the House, and upon the stump in Tennessee, he was the firm and able advocate of the Jackson policy. He served as chairman of several important committees.

In June, 1834, Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, resigned the speakership of the House. Mr. Polk and Mr. Bell were the rival candidates for the succession. The latter was elected by a combination of the Whigs and the supporters of Judge White for the presidency. The next year a new Congress assembled, and it was found that the friends of the administration were in a large majority. Mr. Polk was again selected as their candidate for speaker, and on this occasion was elected by a majority of forty-eight votes. At the first, or extra session of the 25th Congress, held in September, 1837, he was again chosen to the same post. He filled the speakership during five sessions. The period was stormy; and Mr. Polk's duties were very arduous. But he performed them to the general satisfaction. On the 4th of March, 1839, he terminated his connexion with the House of Representatives, delivering on that occasion a feeling address. He resigned his post, to accept the nomination of the Democratic party for the gubernatorial chair of Tennessee.

The canvass was spirited. Governor Cannon, the antagonist of Mr. Polk, was a popular man. Both took the stump. At the election, Mr. Polk triumphed, receiving 2500 majority. On the 14th of October, 1839, he was inaugurated governor of Tennessee. His term of office expired in October, 1841. But at the August election, he was again a candidate. The Harrison party had carried the state by 12,000 majority the year previous. Defeat was certain. James C. Jones, the Whig candidate, was

elected. In 1843, Mr. Polk was again a candidate, and was again defeated by Governor Jones.

The friends of Mr. Polk seemed determined that he should not remain in private life. At the session of the Tennessee legislature in 1839, he was nominated for the vice-presidency, to be placed on the ticket with Martin Van Buren. But Colonel R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was the favourite candidate, and at the election of 1840, Mr. Polk received but one electoral vote.

From the time of the defeat of Mr. Van Buren, in 1840, up to within a few weeks previous to the assembling of the national democratic convention at Baltimore, in May, 1844, public opinion in the Republican party seemed to be firmly fixed upon him as their candidate for re-election to the station which he had once filled. But in the month of April, 1844, a treaty was concluded under the auspices of President Tyler, between the representatives of the government of the United States and of the republic of Texas, providing for the annexation* of the latter to the American Confederacy. This measure, though long in contemplation, was fruitful in strife and dissension. Hitherto it had been conceded on every hand, that Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Clay ought to be, and would be, the rival candidates for the presidency in 1844; but now the political elements were thrown into complete confusion. The opinions of almost every public man in the United States were sought; and among others, Mr. Polk was addressed. He replied, arguing in favour of annexation.

In the commotion produced by the agitation of the Texas question, the National Democratic Convention assembled at Baltimore, on the 27th day of May, 1844. Until the publication of his Texas letter, Mr. Van Buren had

* The term *reannexation* was frequently used during the canvass, as synonymous with *annexation*; because Texas originally formed part of the Louisiana purchase, and belonged to the United States.

been by far the most prominent candidate ; but when the convention met, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, and Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, all of whom were in favour of the immediate annexation of Texas, were supported for the presidential nomination by their respective friends, with greater or less earnestness. Immediately after the organization of the convention, a rule was adopted, in accordance with the precedents established by the conventions of 1832 and 1835, requiring a vote of two-thirds to secure a nomination. Mr. Van Buren received a majority of the votes on the first ballot ; seven additional balloting were then had, but at no time did he receive a vote of two-thirds ; whereupon his name was withdrawn by the New York delegation. The delegates opposed to his nomination, after the first ballot, concentrated their strength mainly upon Mr. Cass ; but as the friends of Mr. Van Buren numbered more than one-third of the convention, and were irreconcilably hostile to the selection of any of the other candidates originally proposed, it was apparent that no nomination could be made without their consent.

The name of Mr. Polk had been freely spoken of in connexion with the vice-presidency, and when the convention found itself in this dilemma, a number of his friends among the delegates voted for him on the eighth ballot as the presidential candidate. All conceded his talents. On the ninth ballot he received nearly all the votes of the members of the convention, and the vote was subsequently made unanimous. The nomination for the vice-presidency was tendered with great unanimity to Silas Wright, of New York, a distinguished friend of Mr. Van Buren, but it was declined ; and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, was then put in nomination.

The nomination of Mr. Polk was communicated to him by a committee appointed by the convention. Unex-

pected as was the honour thus conferred upon him, he did not decline it. In reply to the committee he returned a letter of acceptance, in which he avowed his firm determination, in the event of his election, not to be again a candidate.

Prior to its adjournment, the Baltimore Convention adopted a series of resolutions, setting forth the principles that distinguished them as a party. By the acceptance of their nomination, Mr. Polk signified his approbation of those resolutions.

The candidates selected by the Whig party, in opposition to the Democratic nominees, were Henry Clay, of Kentucky, for president, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, for vice-president. Mr. Tyler, the then president, was also put in nomination for the presidency, by a convention of his friends, but he subsequently withdrew his name and gave his support to the Democratic ticket. The nomination of Mr. Polk was not only well received; a spirit of enthusiasm was soon aroused in his favour. The election was conducted with great spirit and animation. Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Cass, with the other candidates before the National Convention, and their friends, cordially supported the ticket.

In the electoral colleges, Mr. Polk received 170 votes, and Mr. Clay 105.* The majority of Mr. Polk over his distinguished competitor, on the popular vote, was about 40,000, exclusive of the vote of South Carolina, whose electors are chosen by the state legislature. The total vote was a little less than 2,700,000.

On the 28th of November—the result of the election being then known—Mr. Polk visited Nashville, and was

* Mr. Polk received the electoral votes of Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas; and Mr. Clay those of Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio.

honoured with a public reception by his Democratic friends, together with a number of their opponents in the late contest, who cheerfully united with them in paying due honours to the president elect of the people's choice. A brilliant civic and military procession escorted him to the public square in front of the court-house, where he was addressed by the Hon. A. O. P. Nicholson, on behalf of the large assembly that had collected to welcome him to the seat of government. To the address of Mr. Nicholson, congratulating him on his success, and assuring him of the high respect and admiration entertained for his intellectual capacity and his private virtues by the people of Tennessee, Mr. Polk replied in a conciliatory and grateful spirit.

Mr. Polk left his home in Tennessee, on his way to Washington, toward the latter part of January, 1845. He was accompanied on his journey by Mrs. Polk, and several personal friends. On the 31st instant, he had a long private interview at the Hermitage, with his venerable friend, Andrew Jackson. The leave-taking was affectionate and impressive, for each felt conscious, that, in all probability, it was a farewell for ever.*

On the 1st of February, Mr. Polk and suite left Nashville, and proceeded as rapidly as possible, considering the demonstrations of respect with which he was everywhere received on his route, to the seat of government of the nation. The president elect with his party arrived at Washington on the 13th of February, and was immediately waited upon by a committee of the two houses of Congress, who informed him that the returns from the electoral colleges had been opened, and the ballots counted, on the previous day; and that he had been declared duly elected president of the United States. He thereupon signified his acceptance of the office to which he had been chosen by the people, and desired the committee to convey to Congress his

* Jenkins's Life of James K. Polk.

assurances, that "in executing the responsible duties which would devolve upon him, it would be his anxious desire to maintain the honour and promote the welfare of the country."

On the 4th day of March, 1845, Mr. Polk was inaugurated president of the United States. An immense concourse of people assembled at Washington—every quarter of the Union being well represented—to witness the imposing ceremony.

About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the procession moved from the quarters of the president elect, at Coleman's hotel—Mr. Polk and his predecessor, Mr. Tyler, riding together in an open carriage. Arrived at the capitol, the president elect and the ex-president entered the Senate chamber. Here a procession was formed, when they proceeded to the platform on the east front of the capitol, from which Mr. Polk delivered his inaugural address, setting forth the principles upon which he intended to conduct the administration; and it was generally considered an able paper.

In organizing the cabinet, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was appointed secretary of state; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, secretary of the treasury; William L. Marcy, of New York, secretary of war; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, secretary of the navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, postmaster-general, and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, attorney-general.

Among the principal recommendations in the first annual message of President Polk, were the re-establishment of the independent treasury system; the revision of the tariff act of 1842, in such a manner as to have it conform to the revenue standard, with the substitution of *ad valorem* duties for minimums, or false valuations, and for specific duties; the increase of the navy by the construction of additional war steamers; and the graduation and reduction of the

minimum rate at which the public lands were sold. These recommendations were cordially approved by Congress. The independent treasury law was revived, and again established under more favourable auspices than those which attended its first introduction into the financial system of the government. A new tariff law—known as the tariff of 1846—of a purely revenue character, and based on a plan prepared by the secretary of the treasury, Mr. Walker, was also reported in the House of Representatives from the committee of Ways and Means. A protracted and able debate, in which the whole subject of the tariff was viewed and reviewed, considered and reconsidered, for the hundredth time, engaged the attention of members for several weeks. The bill was finally adopted in the House by a vote of 114 to 94. In the Senate it was sustained by a vote of 28 to 27, and it went into operation on the 1st day of December, 1846. At this session, also, a bill was passed, and approved by the president, authorizing imported goods subject to duty to be warehoused in the public stores for a limited period—the duties to be paid when the goods were removed.

But more exciting work was destined to occupy this administration. Mexico had refused to recognize the independence of Texas, and she now prepared for war. Great Britain claimed part of the Oregon territory, and evinced a determination to assert her claims by force of arms. The administration expressed a resolution to maintain the honour and assert the power of the republic in both difficulties; but a resort to arms was only necessary against Mexico.

The Mexican minister, when informed that the act of the annexation of Texas had been consummated, retired from Washington to his own country, and for a time all intercourse of an official nature between the two republics closed. In Mexico, the war party gained the ascendancy,

drove General Herrera from power, and elevated General Paredes to the presidency.

In September, 1845, President Polk authorized an inquiry of the Mexican government if it would be willing to receive a minister extraordinary, invested with ample powers for a termination of difficulties. To this request the Mexican Congress acceded, asking, meanwhile, that during the proposed negotiations, the American gulf squadron should be withdrawn from Vera Cruz. This being done, Mr. Slidell, the American envoy, proceeded to Mexico. Unfortunately, this was about the time that General Paredes assumed command, and the unsettled condition of the country, together with other events, caused that functionary to withdraw assent for the intended negotiations, on the pretence that as Mr. Slidell had been authorized to attend to the settlement of former difficulties concerning Mexican outrages, his mission was not *specially* confined to the Texas question.

On the 1st of March, 1846, Mr. Slidell requested of the Mexican government an acknowledgment of his official character. This was refused, and he returned to the United States.

Meanwhile President Polk determined on sending an armed force into the territory of Texas, in order to protect it from an anticipated invasion. His message of December, 1845, thus announces this measure to Congress :

“Both the Congress and the convention of the people of Texas invited this government to send an army into their territory, to protect and defend them against a menaced attack. The moment the terms of annexation offered by the United States were accepted by Texas, the latter became so far a part of our country as to make it our duty to afford such protection and defence. I therefore deemed it proper, as a precautionary measure, to order a strong squadron to the coast of Mexico, and to concentrate a suffi-

cient military force on the western frontier of Texas. Our army was ordered to take positions in the country between the Nueces and the Del Norte, and to repel any invasion of the Texan territory, which might be attempted by the Mexican forces.

“Our squadron in the gulf was ordered to co-operate with the army. But though our army and navy were placed in a position to defend our own and the rights of Texas, they were ordered to commit no act of hostility against Mexico, unless she declared war, or was herself the aggressor by striking the first blow. * * *

“When orders were given during the past summer for concentrating a military force on the western frontier of Texas, our troops were widely dispersed, and in small detachments occupying posts remote from each other. The prompt and expeditious manner in which an army, embracing more than one-half of our peace establishment, was drawn together, on an emergency so sudden, reflects great credit on the officers who were intrusted with the execution of these orders, as well as upon the discipline of the army itself.”

The presence of this force, in Texas, was no doubt one reason for the rejection of Mr. Slidell.

On the 21st of March, 1845, General Zachary Taylor was appointed commander-in-chief of the “Corps of Observation,” with orders to hold the forces under his command, ready to enter Texas whenever directed. On the 15th of June he was apprised of the probable speedy acceptance of the terms of annexation by the Texan Congress, and received orders of a confidential nature to enter the annexed territory.

In August General Taylor marched with all his forces to Corpus Christi, where he remained until March 11th of the next year, when, under instructions from the war department, he broke up his camp, and pushed forward for the

Rio Grande. At the Arroyo Colorado he was met by a party of stragglers, who appeared disposed to oppose his crossing; but no opposition was actually offered. On the 24th, he took undisputed possession of Point Isabel. Previous to this he had been met by a deputation, protesting against his march, and threatening war if it were persisted in. Some buildings at the point were fired by the Mexicans, but the conflagration was arrested by Colonel Twiggs. Leaving at this place four hundred and fifty men, with ten cannon and ample supplies of powder and ball, under Major John Munroe, General Taylor continued his advance. On the 28th he erected the national flag on the banks of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras. On the following day Brigadier-General Worth, with his staff, crossed the river, with despatches to the municipal authorities. He was met by a Mexican delegation, the reception of the papers declined, and his request of an interview with the American consul refused.

This unpropitious affair was but the commencement of difficulties. Immediately after, all communication with General Taylor was closed, and symptoms of approaching war daily multiplied. In order to prepare for it, General Taylor commenced the erection of a fort, to be defended by extensive works. More than one thousand men were employed upon it night and day. This redoubt, under the name of Fort Brown, subsequently became famous for its successful defence against the bombardment of the enemy, and for the death of its defender, Major Jacob Brown.

The death of Colonel Truman Cross, the first victim of the Mexican war, occurred on the 10th of April. He was waylaid, shot, and mutilated by a party of Mexicans, commanded by Romano Falcon.

On the 11th April, General Ampudia entered Matamoras with large reinforcements, and assumed supreme command. The occasion was one of exultation to the inhabitants. On

the following day he addressed a note to General Taylor, requesting him to break up his camp and march for the Rio Nueces within twenty-four hours. It concludes as follows :

“If you insist in remaining upon the soil of the department of Tamaulipas, it will clearly result that arms, and arms alone must decide the question; and in that case I advise you that we accept the war to which with so much injustice on your part you provoke us, and that on our part this war shall be conducted conformably to the principles of the most civilized nations: that is to say that the laws of nations and of war shall be the guide of my operations; trusting that on your part the same will be observed.”

In his answer to the above, General Taylor replied, “The instructions under which I am acting, will not permit me to retrograde from the position I now occupy. In view of the relations between our respective governments, and the individual suffering which may result, I regret the alternative which you offer; but at the same time wish it understood, that I shall by no means avoid such alternative, leaving the responsibility with those who rashly commence hostilities.”

Ampudia did not attempt the enforcement of his threat, and General Taylor continued the strengthening of his fortifications. The death of Lieutenant Porter, who was killed (April 17th) by some Mexicans while searching for the body of Colonel Cross, tended to exasperate the Americans still further against the enemy.

On the same day (April 17th), two American schooners bound for Matamoras were warned off the coast by General Taylor, and the mouth of the Rio Grande declared to be in a state of blockade. This proceeding drew forth an angry letter from Ampudia, who threatened serious results in case of its being persisted in. The reply of the general was firm but temperate. He entered at length into all the

circumstances of mutual importance which had transpired since his march from Corpus Christi, asserting the blockade to be but a necessary consequence of the state of war, declared to exist by Ampudia himself.

Immediately after the blockade of the Rio Grande, parties of Mexicans commenced crossing the river, spreading themselves so as to occupy various positions along its eastern bank. These crossings took place both above and below General Taylor's camp; and apprehensive of being surrounded by an overwhelming force, he despatched a reconnoitering party in each direction.

A party under the command of Captain Thornton was surrounded and compelled to surrender. These prisoners were remarkably well treated by the enemy.

This affair was the virtual commencement of the war. It was reported to the commanding general as a victory of the greatest importance, and the Mexican army confidently anticipated the destruction of their invaders. From this time the enemy threw off the reserve which had hitherto characterized their movements, and crossing the river in large numbers, spread themselves between Fort Brown and Point Isabel. To the American army, this was the most gloomy period of the war; and when intelligence of its position reached the United States it created a sensation, and deep anxiety which showed how intimately the feelings of the people were twined around that distant band. But still General Taylor maintained his position, employing his whole army in the strengthening of his works; and at Point Isabel not only did Major Munroe employ all the means which had been left with him, but also landed the crews of the vessels in the harbour, and armed them as soldiers.

At this juncture the lamented Captain Walker reached Point Isabel, with some Texas rangers. As his merit was well known to the major, he was ordered to advance some

distance beyond the works, and, if possible, open a communication with Fort Brown. With seventy-five men he rode to a position about fourteen miles distant; and soon after, (28th), on learning that General Taylor was surrounded, he determined to open a communication. After riding some miles, he came suddenly upon a large Mexican force, which he estimated at 1500, drawn up across the road. They were nearly all mounted. The captain ordered his men into some neighbouring chaparral; but before this could be effected, the enemy charged, and as most of the Americans were but raw recruits, they fled in confusion. A running fight ensued; the captain was pursued to within cannon-shot of Point Isabel, and his men dispersed. The loss of the Mexicans was about thirty.

On arriving at camp, Captain Walker offered to renew his effort to open a communication, provided four men would accompany him, alleging that the smaller the number on such an expedition the more chance of escape, in case of an attack. Such a proposition was regarded as desperate; but on six men volunteering, the major granted the request, and the intrepid ranger set out. By his intimate knowledge of the road, he was enabled to elude the enemy and reach Fort Brown in safety.

As soon as General Taylor had received information of the condition of Point Isabel, he determined to march with his army to its relief, leaving Major Jacob Brown with 600 men and a few cannon to defend the river fort. He marched on the 1st, and reached the main depot on the following day. The general's march was a source of unbounded exultation to the Mexicans. It was reported in their military orders as a retreat, and the ruin of the invading army began to be confidently expected.

As a preliminary to this, the destruction of Fort Brown was to be accomplished. Accordingly, on the 3d, a battery stationed in Matamoras opened its fire upon the works, and

continued a brisk cannonade all day. It was answered by two eighteen-pounders. At seven in the evening the firing stopped, but was renewed at nine, and continued until midnight: One American was killed, but very little injury done on either side. Long before night Major Brown ceased firing, in consequence of the scarcity of ammunition.

The cannonade had been heard at Point Isabel, and anxious to know the result, General Taylor despatched Captain May with about one hundred men, among whom was Walker and ten rangers, to Fort Brown. They set out in the evening, passed the enemy's camp under cover of the night, and halted by some chaparral within seven miles of the fort. Captain Walker then proceeded with his party, arrived at the works, and on announcing his name was admitted. He was detained so long that May was obliged to return without him; but on the 5th, to the great joy of General Taylor and the army, he arrived safely. Within some miles of the point, he had met a body of lancers, whom he charged and drove some miles; his escape, however, from the Mexican army, whose scouts were in active watch for him, seems little less than miraculous. He reported to the general the gratifying intelligence that Major Brown was still confidently maintaining his position.

At daylight on the 5th, the garrison at Fort Brown observed a battery in a field to the east, which soon opened its fire. The Americans were thus placed between two fires, which continued, with slight intermission, all day. They were renewed on the 6th, on the morning of which day Major Brown was mortally wounded by a bomb shell, and the command devolved on Captain Hawkins. In the evening that officer was summoned to surrender, and on refusing, the firing was commenced with greater vigour than ever, ceasing only when on the 8th another distant noise assured friend and foe that Generals Taylor and Arista had

met in general battle. On the 9th it recommenced, but was finally terminated by the defeat of Arista.

Upon the 8th of May, General Taylor, at the head of his small army, numbering 2300, came in sight of 6000 Mexicans, at Palo Alto. He had left Point Isabel on the evening of the 7th, and after marching some miles encamped in battle array. The march was resumed next morning.

The train was closed up, the troops filled their canteens, and General Taylor promptly formed his line of battery as follows:—On the right was Ringgold's battery, 5th and 3d infantry; then two eighteen-pounders; then the artillery battalion. The left was composed of the 4th and 8th infantry, and Duncan's battery. A daring reconnoissance by Lieut. J. E. Blake, showed the enemy's line to be of nearly twice the strength of Taylor's, with heavy reserves in the chaparral. The Mexicans opened the action with their artillery, which was moving slowly forward, and some got into the thickest of their shot and halted. The fire was returned with deadly effect.

The first and only important movement attempted by the enemy, was a detachment of their cavalry to make a detour around a clump of chaparral on the right, and attack the train. Captain Walker, of the Texas Rangers, promptly reported this, and the 5th infantry was detached to meet it, which it did handsomely, receiving the lancers in square, and driving them by a well-delivered volley. The cavalry then pushed on again for the train, and found the 3d infantry advancing in column of divisions upon them. They then retired, and as they repassed the 5th they received a fire from Lieutenant Ridgely's two pieces, which had arrived at the nick of time. Two field-pieces, which were following the enemy's cavalry, were also driven back with them.

Meanwhile the enemy's left was riddled by the eighteen-

pounders, which slowly advanced up the road—Duncan's battery on the left, neglecting the enemy's guns, threw their fire into the Mexican infantry, and swept whole ranks. The 8th infantry on the left suffered severely from the enemy's fire. The grass was set on fire at the end of an hour's cannonading, and obscured the enemy's position completely, and an interval of three-quarters of an hour occurred. During this period the American right, now resting on the eighteen-pounders, advanced along the wood, to the point originally occupied by the Mexican left, and when the smoke had cleared away sufficiently to show the enemy, the fire was resumed with increased rapidity and execution. Duncan divided his battery on the left, giving a section to Lieutenant Roland, to operate in front, and with the other he advanced beyond the burning grass (which was three feet high, and the flames rolled ten feet in the strong breeze), and seized the prolongation of the enemy's right, enfilading that flank completely. Night found the two armies in this position.

In his official despatch, General Taylor thus sums up this action and its results:—

“The strength of the enemy is believed to have been about 6000 men, with seven pieces of artillery, and 800 cavalry. His loss is probably at least one hundred killed. Our strength did not exceed, all told, 2300, while our loss was comparatively trifling—four men killed, three officers and thirty-seven men wounded, several of the latter mortally. I regret to say that Major Ringgold, 2d artillery, and Captain Page, 4th infantry, are severely wounded. Lieutenant Luther, 2d artillery, slightly so.”

The Mexicans made a rapid retreat at night, but halted at Resaca de la Palma and occupied a strong position. On the 9th General Taylor resumed his march, and early in the afternoon came up with the enemy. The general brought up his troops by battalions, and posted them, with

brief orders to find the enemy with the bayonet, and placed the artillery where they could act in the road. The dragoons were held in reserve, and as soon as the advance of our line had uncovered the Mexican batteries, General Taylor told Captain May that *his* time had come. May dashed upon it with his squadron, and lost one-third of it; but he cleared the battery and captured its commander, General Vega, in the act of raising a port-fire to fire a piece himself. May took his sword, and brought the general off. The enemy re-manned the guns, and lost them a second time to the 5th infantry. Captain Barbour, of the 2d infantry, with his single company, and a few men from the 5th, who joined him in the chaparral, threw his back against a clump of bushes, and received and gallantly repelled a charge of cavalry. Captain Duncan, with his battery, did terrible execution. The battle was a series of brilliant skirmishes and heavy shocks, in which fifteen hundred fighting men met six thousand hand to hand—overwhelmed them with the precision of their volleys and the steady coolness of the bayonet, and drove them from the field with the loss of their artillery, baggage, pack-mules, fixed ammunition, and near two thousand stand of muskets.

The victorious general says, in his despatch to government :—

“Our victory has been complete. Eight pieces of artillery, with a great quantity of ammunition, three standards, and some one hundred prisoners have been taken; among the latter, General La Vega, and several other officers. One general is understood to have been killed. The enemy has recrossed the river, and I am sure will not again molest us on this bank. The loss of the enemy in killed has been most severe. Our own has been very heavy, and I deeply regret to report that Lieutenant Inge, 2d dragoons, Lieutenant Cochrane, 4th infantry, and Lieutenant Chadbourne, 8th infantry, were killed on the field. Lieutenant-Colonel

Payne, 4th artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel M'Intosh, Lieutenant Dobbins, 3d infantry; Captain Hooe and Lieutenant Fowler, 5th infantry; and Captain Montgomery, Lieutenants Gates, Selden, M'Clay, Burbank, and Jordan, 8th infantry, were wounded."

General Taylor distinguished himself by his humane treatment of the wounded Mexicans. On the 11th of May an exchange of prisoners took place, and Captain Thornton and his party joined their comrades in arms once more.

On the 17th General Taylor crossed the Rio Grande and captured Matamoras without resistance, Ampudia having previously retired with his whole force.

General Taylor, although now in possession of Matamoras, found himself in no condition to advance further into the enemy's country. He was deficient not only in troops, but in supplies and the means of transportation. It became necessary, therefore, for him to remain at this post through the greater part of the summer, waiting for the necessary means of prosecuting the invasion.

The Mexican inhabitants of Matamoras, though at first rather shy of the Americans, soon became familiarized with them, and readily furnished provisions, taking care to be very liberally paid for them. Assassinations of stragglers from the camp occasionally took place; but on the whole the inhabitants seemed cheerfully to acquiesce in the altered state of affairs.

In the beginning of June General Taylor's force did not exceed 9000 men, including 750 stationed at Barita, and 500 at Point Isabel. Reinforcements were coming in slowly from the different states of the Union, and, although he was anticipating the arrival of a sufficient force to warrant his advance towards Monterey, where the enemy was concentrating his forces, neither men nor steamboats had yet arrived sufficient to enable him even to fix the time of his departure.

In the mean time the Mexicans were not only discouraged by defeat, but distracted by internal dissensions. Paredes, the president of the republic, was reported to have superseded his defeated generals and assumed the command; but his authority was defied by Arista, who was organizing one of those insurrections which are so frequent in the political history of Mexico. The election of the 16th of June, however, resulted in the choice of Paredes as president, and General Bravo, the governor of Vera Cruz, as vice-president.

By the military arrangements which followed this reorganization of the government, General Arevalo was sent to Monterey, and Bravo to Mexico, while Mejia was placed in the command of the northern army, and Ampudia was ordered to San Luis Potosi. Monterey, being considered the most probable scene of General Taylor's next operations, was strongly fortified and furnished with provisions and munitions of war. Before the end of June General Taylor was strongly reinforced by the arrival of numerous bodies of fresh volunteers from various parts of the Union; but his means of transportation were still deficient.

Meantime Captain M'Culloch with the Texan rangers had seized and occupied the Mexican ports of Reynosa, Camargo, and Mier, without resistance on the part of the enemy. It was not until the 5th of August, nearly three months after the battle of Resaca de la Palma, that General Taylor was able to take up his line of march from Matamoras for Camargo. On arriving at that place, General Worth was detached to San Juan, while Captain Wall occupied Reynosa, and General Twiggs had been left in command of Matamoras. Towards the end of August, General Worth was ordered to advance to Seralvo and there to await further orders. From this port he sent advices to General Taylor on the 5th of September, that Monterey

had just been reinforced by the arrival of 3000 men under General Ampudia, thus increasing the garrison to 4000.

This important information determined General Taylor to advance and immediately attack Monterey. He accordingly took up his line of march towards Seralvo on the 7th, leaving General Patterson in command of all the forces stationed between Camargo and Matamoras.

Disencumbering his troops of all unnecessary baggage, and sending forward his supplies on pack-mules to Seralvo, Taylor now hastened eagerly on. On his arrival at Seralvo, instead of waiting for further reinforcements or fresh orders before attacking so formidable a fort with so light a force, he pushed forward for Monterey with his main body, consisting of but little more than 6000 men.

On the morning of the 19th of September, the army encamped at the "Walnut Springs," within three miles of the city of Monterey. Here they could survey the prospect before them—Monterey, seated in a beautiful valley, bosomed among lofty and imposing mountains on the north, east, and south, and open to a plain on the east, fortified with thick stone walls in the old Spanish fashion of another century, with all the apparatus of ditches and bastions, and lowering upon them with deep-mouthed cannon. From their elevated position the Americans could see in part what they had already learnt from spies and deserters, that the flat-roofed stone houses of the city itself, had been converted into fortifications. Every street was barricaded, and every house-top was bristling with musketry. On one side the Americans could see the Bishop's Palace, a strong fort well fortified; on the other, redoubts well manned; and in the rear of all, a river.

General Taylor's official despatch gives the clearest and most faithful account of the siege. He says:—"The configuration of the heights and gorges in the direction of the Saltillo road, as visible from the point attained by

our advance on the morning of the 19th, led me to suspect that it was practicable to turn all the works in that direction, and thus cut off the enemy's line of communication. After establishing my camp at the 'Walnut Springs,' three miles from Monterey, the nearest suitable position, it was, accordingly, my first care to order a close reconnoissance of the ground in question, which was executed on the evening of the 19th, by the engineer officers under the direction of Major Mansfield. A reconnoissance of the eastern approaches was at the same time made by Captain Williams, Topographical Engineers. The examination made by Major Mansfield proved the entire practicability of throwing forward a column to the Saltillo road, and thus turning the position of the enemy. Deeming this to be an operation of essential importance, orders were given to Brevet-Brigadier General Worth, commanding the second division, to march with his command on the 20th; to turn the hill of the Bishop's Place: to occupy a position on the Saltillo road, and to carry the enemy's detached works in that quarter, where practicable. The first regiment of Texas mounted volunteers, under command of Colonel Hays, was associated with the second division on this service. Captain Sanders, Engineers, and Lieutenant Meade, Topographical Engineers, were also ordered to report to General Worth for duty with his column.

"At two o'clock P. M. on the 20th, the 2d division took up its march. It was soon discovered, by officers who were reconnoitering the town, and communicated to General Worth, that its movement had been perceived, and that the enemy was throwing reinforcements towards the Bishop's Palace, and the height which commands it. To divert his attention as far as practicable, the first division, under Brigadier-General Twiggs, and field division of volunteers, under Major-General Butler, were displayed in front of the town until dark. Arrangements were made at the same

time to place in battery, during the night, at a suitable distance from the enemy's main work, the citadel, two twenty-four pounder howitzers, and a ten-inch mortar, with a view to open a fire on the following day, when I proposed to make a diversion in favour of General Worth's movement. The 4th infantry covered this battery during the night. General Worth had in the mean time reached and occupied, for the night, a defensive position just without range of a battery above the Bishop's Palace, having made a reconnaissance as far as the Saltillo road.

"Before proceeding to report the operations of the 21st and the following days, I beg leave to state that I shall mention in detail only those which were conducted against the eastern extremity of the city, or elsewhere, under my immediate direction, referring you for the particulars of General Worth's operations, which were entirely detached, to his own full report transmitted herewith.

"Early on the morning of the 21st, I received a note from General Worth, written at half-past nine o'clock the night before, suggesting what I had already intended, a strong diversion against the centre and left of the town, to favour his enterprise against the heights in rear. The infantry and artillery of the 1st division, and the field division of volunteers, were ordered under arms, and took the direction of the city, leaving one company of each regiment as a camp guard. The 2d dragoons, under Lieutenant-Colonel May, and Colonel Woods' regiment of Texas mounted volunteers, under the immediate direction of General Henderson, were directed to the right to support General Worth, if necessary, and to make an impression, if practicable, upon the upper quarter of the city. Upon approaching the mortar battery, the 1st and 3d regiments of infantry, and battalion of Baltimore and Washington volunteers, with Captain Bragg's field battery—the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Garland—were directed towards the lower part of

the town, with orders to make a strong demonstration, and carry one of the enemy's advanced works, if it could be done without too heavy loss. Major Mansfield, Engineers, and Captain Williams and Lieutenant Pope, Topographical Engineers, accompanied this column, Major Mansfield being charged with its direction, and the designation of points of attack.

"In the mean time, the mortar, served by Captain Ramsay, of the ordnance, and the howitzer battery under Captain Webster, 1st artillery, had opened their fire upon the citadel, which was deliberately sustained, and answered from the work. General Butler's division had now taken up a position in rear of this battery, when the discharges of artillery, mingled finally with a rapid fire of small arms, showed that Lieutenant Garland's command had become warmly engaged. I now deemed it necessary to support this attack, and accordingly ordered the 4th infantry, and three regiments of General Butler's division, to march at once, by the left flank, in the direction of the advanced work at the lower extremity of the town, leaving one regiment (1st Kentucky) to cover the mortar and howitzer battery. By some mistake, two companies of the 4th infantry did not receive this order, and, consequently, did not join the advance companies until some time afterwards.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Garland's command had approached the town in a direction to the right of the advanced work (No. 1), at the north-eastern angle of the city, and the engineer officer, covered by skirmishers, had succeeded in entering the suburbs and gaining cover. The remainder of this command now advanced and entered the town under a heavy fire of artillery from the citadel and the works on the left, and of musketry from the houses and small works in front. A movement to the right was attempted, with a view to gain the rear of No. 1, and carry that work, but the troops were so much exposed to a fire which they could

not effectually return, and had already sustained such severe loss, particularly in officers, that it was deemed best to withdraw them to a more secure position. Captain Backus, 1st infantry, however, with a portion of his own and other companies, had gained the roof of a tannery, which looked directly into the gorge of No. 1, and from which he poured a most destructive fire into that work and upon the strong building in its rear. This fire happily coincided in point of time with the advance of a portion of the volunteer division upon No. 1, and contributed largely to the fall of that strong and important work.

“The three regiments of the volunteer division, under the immediate command of Major-General Butler, had in the mean time advanced in the direction of No. 1. The leading brigade, under Brigadier-General Quitman, continued its advance upon that work, preceded by three companies of the 4th infantry, while General Butler, with the 1st Ohio regiment, entered the town to the right. The companies of the 4th infantry had advanced within short range of the work, when they were received by a fire that almost in one moment struck down one-third of the officers and men, and rendered it necessary to retire and effect a conjunction with the two other companies then advancing. General Quitman’s brigade, though suffering most severely, particularly in the Tennessee regiment, continued its advance, and finally carried the work in handsome style, as well as the strong building in its rear. Five pieces of artillery, a considerable supply of ammunition, and thirty prisoners, including three officers, fell into our hands.

“Major-General Butler, with the 1st Ohio regiment, after entering the edge of the town, discovered that nothing was to be accomplished in his front, and at this point, yielding to the suggestions of several officers, I ordered a retrograde movement; but learning almost immediately from one of my staff that the battery No. 1 was in our possession, the order

was countermanded, and I determined to hold the battery and defences already gained. General Butler, with the 1st Ohio regiment, then entered the town at a point further to the left, and marched in the direction of the battery No. 2. While making an examination with a view to ascertain the possibility of carrying this second work by storm, the general was wounded, and soon after compelled to quit the field. As the strength of No. 2, and the heavy musketry fire flanking the approach, rendered it impossible to carry it without great loss, the 1st Ohio regiment was withdrawn from the town.

“Fragments of the various regiments engaged were now under cover of the captured battery and some buildings in its front, and on the right. The field battery of Captains Bragg and Ridgely was also partially covered by the battery. An incessant fire was kept on this position from battery No. 2, and other works on its right, and from the citadel on all our approaches. General Twiggs, though quite unwell, joined me at this point, and was instrumental in causing the artillery captured from the enemy to be placed in battery, and served by Captain Ridgely, against No. 2, until the arrival of Captain Webster's howitzer battery, which took its place. In the mean time, I directed such men as could be collected of the 1st, 3d, and 4th regiments and Baltimore battalion, to enter the town, penetrating to the right, and carry the 2d battery if possible. This command, under Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, advanced beyond the bridge “Purissima,” when, finding it impracticable to gain the rear of the 2d battery, a portion of it sustained themselves for some time in that advanced position; but as no permanent impression could be made at that point, and the main object of the general operation had been effected, the command, including a section of Captain Ridgely's battery, which had joined it, was withdrawn to battery No. 1. During the absence of this column, a de-

monstration of cavalry was reported in the direction of the citadel. Captain Bragg, who was at hand, immediately galloped with his battery to a suitable position, from which a few discharges effectually dispersed the enemy. Captain Miller, 1st infantry, was despatched with a mixed command to support the battery on this service. The enemy's lancers had previously charged upon the Ohio and a part of the Mississippi regiments, near some fields at a distance from the edge of the town, and had been repulsed with considerable loss. A demonstration of cavalry on the opposite side of the river was also dispersed in the course of the afternoon by Captain Ridgely's battery, and the squadrons returned to the city. At the approach of evening, all the troops that had been engaged were ordered back to the camp, except Captain Ridgely's battery and the regular infantry of the 1st division, who were detailed as a guard for the works during the night, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Garland. One battalion of the 1st Kentucky regiment was ordered to reinforce this command. Intrenching tools were procured, and additional strength was given to the works, and protection to the men, by working-parties during the night, under the direction of Lieutenant Scarritt, engineers.

“The main object proposed in the morning had been effected. A powerful diversion had been made to favour the operations of the 2d division, one of the enemy's advanced works had been carried, and we now had a strong foothold in the town. But this had not been accomplished without a very heavy loss, embracing some of our most gallant and accomplished officers. Captain Williams, Topographical Engineers; Lieutenants Terrett and Dilworth, 1st infantry; Lieutenant Woods, 2d infantry; Captains Morris and Field, Brevet-Major Barbour, Lieutenants Irwin and Hazlitt, 3d infantry; Lieutenant Hoskins, 4th infantry; Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, Baltimore battalion; Captain Allen and

Lieutenant Putnam, Tennessee regiment, and Lieutenant Hett, Ohio regiment, were killed, or have since died of wounds received in this engagement, while the number and rank of the officers wounded gives additional proof of the obstinacy of the contest, and the good conduct of our troops. The number of killed and wounded incident to the operations in the lower part of the city on the 21st is 394.

“Early in the morning of this day (21st), the advance of the 2d division had encountered the enemy in force, and after a brief but sharp conflict, repulsed him with heavy loss. General Worth then succeeded in gaining a position on the Saltillo road, thus cutting the enemy’s line of communication. From this position the two heights south of the Saltillo road were carried in succession, and the guns taken in one of them turned upon the Bishop’s Palace. These important successes were fortunately obtained with comparatively small loss—Captain M’Kavett, 8th infantry, being the only officer killed.

“The 22d day of September passed without any active operations in the lower part of the city. The citadel and other works continued to fire at parties exposed to their range, and at the work now occupied by our troops. The guard left in it the preceding night, except Captain Ridgely’s company, was relieved at mid-day by General Quitman’s brigade. Captain Bragg’s battery was thrown under cover in front of the town, to repel any demonstration of cavalry in that quarter. At dawn of day the height above the Bishop’s Palace was carried, and soon after meridian the Palace itself was taken, and its guns turned upon the fugitive garrison. The object for which the 2d division was detached had thus been completely accomplished, and I felt confident that with a strong force occupying the road and heights in his rear, and a good position below the city

in our possession, the enemy could not possibly maintain the town.

“During the night of the 22d the enemy evacuated nearly all his defences in the lower part of the city. This was reported to me early in the morning of the 23d, by General Quitman, who had already meditated an assault upon those works. I immediately sent instructions to that officer, leaving it to his discretion to enter the city, covering his men by the houses and walls, and advance carefully so far as he might deem prudent.

“After ordering the remainder of the troops as a reserve, under the orders of Brigadier-General Twiggs, I repaired to the abandoned works, and discovered that a portion of General Quitman’s brigade had entered the town, and were successfully forcing their way towards the principal plaza. I then ordered up the 2d regiment of Texas mounted volunteers, who entered the city, dismounted, and, under the immediate orders of General Henderson, co-operated with General Quitman’s brigade. Captain Bragg’s battery was also ordered up, supported by the 3d infantry, and after firing for some time at the cathedral, a portion of it was likewise thrown into the city. Our troops advanced from house to house, and from square to square, until they reached a street but one square in rear of the principal plaza, in and near which the enemy’s force was mainly concentrated. This advance was conducted vigorously, but with due caution, and although destructive to the enemy, was attended with but small loss on our part. Captain Ridgely, in the mean time, had served a captured piece in battery No. 1 against the city, until the advance of our men rendered it imprudent to fire in the direction of the cathedral. I was now satisfied that we could operate successfully in the city, and that the enemy had retired from the lower portion of it to make a stand behind his barricades. As General Quitman’s brigade had been on

duty the previous night, I determined to withdraw the troops to the evacuated works, and concert with General Worth a combined attack upon the town. The troops accordingly fell back deliberately, in good order, and resumed their original positions, General Quitman's brigade being relieved after nightfall by that of General Hamer. On my return to camp, I met an officer with the intelligence that General Worth, induced by the firing in the lower part of the city, was about making an attack at the upper extremity, which had also been evacuated by the enemy to a considerable distance. I regretted that this information had not reached me before leaving the city, but still deemed it inexpedient to change my orders, and accordingly returned to camp. A note from General Worth, written at 11 o'clock P. M., informed me that he had advanced to within a short distance of the principal plaza, and that the mortar (which had been sent to his division in the morning) was doing good execution within effective range of the enemy's position.

"Desiring to make no further attempt upon the city without complete concert, as to the lines and mode of approach, I instructed that officer to suspend his advance until I could have an interview with him on the following morning, at his head quarters.

"Early in the morning of the 24th I received, through Colonel Moreno, a communication from General Ampudia, proposing to evacuate the town; which, with the answer, were forwarded with my first despatch. I arranged with Colonel Moreno a cessation of fire until twelve o'clock, at which hour I would receive the answer of the Mexican general at General Worth's head quarters, to which I soon repaired. In the mean time, General Ampudia had signified to General Worth his desire for a personal interview with me, to which I acceded, and which finally resulted in

a capitulation, placing the town and the material of war, with certain exceptions, in our possession.

“Upon occupying the city, it was discovered to be of great strength in itself, and to have its approaches carefully and strongly fortified. The town and works were armed with forty-two pieces of cannon, well supplied with ammunition, and manned with a force of at least 7000 troops of the line, and from 2000 to 3000 irregulars. The force under my orders before Monterey, as exhibited by the accompanying return, was 425 officers and 6220 men. Our artillery consisted of one ten-inch mortar, two twenty-four pounder howitzers, and four light field batteries of four guns each—the mortar being the only piece suitable to the operations of a siege.

“Our loss is 12 officers and 108 men killed; 31 officers and 337 men wounded. That of the enemy is not known, but is believed considerably to exceed our own.”

The brilliant success of General Taylor astonished his own countrymen, and they believed him invincible. Still the enemy retained their resolute spirit, and prepared for new conflicts.

Monterey became the main depot of General Taylor. It is an excellent city for the head quarters of an army, being provided with every kind of defence, vast magazines for supplies, hospitals, stores, and good water. Soon after General Wool, with the central division of the army, arrived at Monclova, from his march against Chihuahua. He was ordered with twenty-four hundred men and six field-pieces to Parras; and General Worth with twenty-five hundred men and eight pieces to Saltillo. Both these places were occupied without opposition.

Before the capture of Monterey, a revolution had occurred at the Mexican capital, and General Santa Anna had been created dictator. He immediately hastened to San Luis Potosi, and began to raise an efficient army.

In November he found himself at the head of twenty thousand men, most of them raw recruits, and poorly equipped. It was his wish to clothe and discipline this force before marching against Taylor, but such was the popular clamour for immediate action, that faction began again to show herself. Some even denounced him as a traitor. Accordingly the general was obliged to sacrifice his superior judgment to the popular will, and in the same month we find him proceeding slowly toward his opponent's camp.

About this time General Taylor received a letter from the war department, announcing that the terms of capitulation at Monterey, had not met the approval of government, and directing him immediately to recommence hostilities. This he announced to Santa Anna, requesting at the same time the release of some prisoners detained at San Luis. The Mexican commander answered in a courteous manner, acknowledging the end of the truce, and liberated the prisoners, paying the expenses of their journey.

On the 15th of December, Taylor marched to meet his enemy. Information had been received that General Urrea, with a large body of cavalry, was threatening Victoria; and that Santa Anna with the main army was rapidly approaching Saltillo. General Patterson was in command at this place; and anxious for his safety, the commander sent General Quitman to join him with a reinforcement, and with the main army fell back to Monterey. But at this time Wool entered Saltillo with fresh troops, enabling General Taylor again to advance toward Victoria, which he reached on the 30th. At this place he received a letter from General Scott, requesting nearly all his regular troops for the campaign on the gulf coast, thus again forcing him to retire to Monterey. Here he remained until February,

when the arrival of volunteers, swelling his force to five thousand men, enabled him again to press forward.

On the 2d of this month, General Santa Anna left San Luis Potosi, at the head of twenty-three thousand men, and after a march in which his troops sustained difficulties of the most appalling nature, he approached General Taylor's position [February 20th] at Agua Nueva. On the same day the latter broke up his camp, and retired to a strong mountain pass, called Angostura, three miles from the hacienda of Buena Vista. While removing some stores a small party of Americans was defeated by the Mexicans; and at noon on the 22d, General Taylor was summoned to surrender. We give his own account of the subsequent operations:

"Our troops were in position, occupying a line of remarkable strength. The road at its point becomes a narrow defile, the valley on its right being rendered quite impracticable for artillery by a system of deep and impassable gulleys, while on the left a succession of rugged ridges and precipitous ravines extend far back toward the mountain which bounds the valley. The features of the ground were such as nearly to paralyze the artillery and cavalry of the enemy, while his infantry could not derive all the advantage of its numerical superiority. In this position we prepared to receive him. Captain Washington's battery (4th artillery) was posted to command the road, while the 1st and 2d Illinois regiments, under Colonels Hardin and Bissell, each eight companies (to the latter of which was attached Captain Conner's company of Texas volunteers), and the 2d Kentucky, under Colonel M'Kee, occupied the crests of the ridges on the left and in rear. The Arkansas and Kentucky regiments of cavalry, commanded by Colonels Yell and H. Marshall, occupied the extreme left near the base of the mountain, while the Indiana brigade, under Brigadier-General Lane (composed of the 2d and 3d regi-

ments, under Colonels Bowles and Lane), the Mississippi riflemen, under Colonel Davis, the squadrons of the 1st and 2d dragoons, under Captain Steen and Lieutenant-Colonel May, and the light batteries of Captains Sherman and Bragg, 3d artillery, were held in reserve.

“At eleven o’clock I received from General Santa Anna a summons to surrender at discretion, which, with a copy of my reply, I have already transmitted. The enemy still forbore his attack, evidently waiting for the arrival of his rear columns, which could be distinctly seen by our look-outs as they approached the field. A demonstration made on his left caused me to detach the 2d Kentucky regiment and a section of artillery to our right, in which position they bivouacked for the night. In the mean time the Mexican light troops had engaged ours on the extreme left (composed of parts of the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry, dismounted, and a rifle battalion from the Indiana brigade, under Major Gorman, the whole commanded by Colonel Marshall), and kept up a sharp fire, climbing the mountain side, and apparently endeavouring to gain our flank. Three pieces of Captain Washington’s battery had been detached to the left, and were supported by the 2d Indiana regiment. An occasional shell was thrown by the enemy into this part of our line, but without effect. The skirmishing of the light troops was kept up with trifling loss on our part until dark, when I became convinced that no serious attack would be made before the morning, and returned with the Mississippi regiment and squadron of 2d dragoons, to Saltillo. The troops bivouacked without fires, and laid upon their arms. A body of cavalry, some fifteen hundred strong, had been visible all day in rear of the town, having entered the valley through a narrow pass east of the city. This cavalry, commanded by General Minon, had evidently been thrown in our rear to break up and harass our retreat, and perhaps make some attempt against the town if practi-

cable. The city was occupied by four excellent companies of Illinois volunteers, under Major Warren of the 1st regiment. A field-work, which commanded most of the approaches, was garrisoned by Captain Webster's company, 1st artillery, and armed with two twenty-four pound howitzers, while the train and head-quarter camp was guarded by two companies of Mississippi riflemen, under Captain Rogers, and a field-piece commanded by Captain Shover, 3d artillery. Having made these dispositions for the protection of the rear, I proceeded on the morning of the 23d to Buena Vista, ordering forward all the other available troops. The action had commenced before my arrival on the field.

“During the evening and night of the 22d, the enemy had thrown a body of light troops on the mountain side, with the purpose of outflanking our left; and it was here that the action of the 23d commenced at an early hour. Our riflemen, under Colonel Marshall, who had been reinforced by three companies under Major Trail, 2d Illinois volunteers, maintained their ground handsomely against a greatly superior force, holding themselves under cover, and using their weapons with deadly effect. About eight o'clock a strong demonstration was made against the centre of our position, a heavy column moving along the road. This force was soon dispersed by a few rapid and well-directed shots from Captain Washington's battery. In the mean time the enemy was concentrating a large force of infantry and cavalry under cover of the ridges, with the obvious intention of forcing our left, which was posted on an extensive plateau. The 2d Indiana and 2d Illinois regiments formed this part of our line, the former covering three pieces of light artillery, under the orders of Captain O'Brien—Brigadier-General Lane being in the immediate command. In order to bring his men within effective range, General Lane ordered the artillery and 2d Indiana regi-

ment forward. The artillery advanced within musket range of a heavy body of Mexican infantry, and was served against it with great effect, but without being able to check its advance. The infantry ordered to its support had fallen back in disorder, being exposed, as well as the battery, not only to a severe fire of small arms from the front, but also to a murderous cross-fire of grape and canister from a Mexican battery on the left. Captain O'Brien found it impossible to retain his position without support, but was only able to withdraw two of his pieces, all the horses and cannoneers of the third piece being killed or disabled. The 2d Indiana regiment, which had fallen back as stated, could not be rallied, and took no further part in the action, except a handful of men, who, under its gallant colonel, Bowles, joined the Mississippi regiment, and did good service, and those fugitives, who, at a later period in the day, assisted in defending the train and depot at Buena Vista. This portion of our line having given way, and the enemy appearing in overwhelming force against our left flank, the light troops which had rendered such good service on the mountain were compelled to withdraw, which they did, for the most part, in good order. Many, however, were not rallied until they reached the depot at Buena Vista, to the defence of which they afterwards contributed.

“Colonel Bissell's regiment (2d Illinois), which had been joined by a section of Captain Sherman's battery, had become completely outflanked, and was compelled to fall back, being entirely unsupported. The enemy was now pouring masses of infantry and cavalry along the base of the mountain on our left, and was gaining our rear in great force. At this moment I arrived upon the field. The Mississippi regiment had been directed to the left before reaching the position, and immediately came into action against the Mexican infantry which had turned our flank. The 2d Kentucky regiment, and a section of artillery under Cap-

tain Bragg, had previously been ordered from the right to reinforce our left, and arrived at a most opportune moment. That regiment, and a portion of the 1st Illinois, under Colonel Hardin, gallantly drove the enemy, and recovered a portion of the ground we had lost. The batteries of Captains Sherman and Bragg were in position on the plateau, and did much execution, not only in front, but particularly upon the masses which had gained our rear. Discovering that the enemy was heavily pressing upon the Mississippi regiment, the 3d Indiana regiment, under Colonel Lane, was despatched to strengthen that part of our line, which formed a crotchet perpendicular to the first line of battle. At the same time Lieutenant Kilburn, with a piece of Captain Bragg's battery, was directed to support the infantry there engaged. The action was, for a long time, warmly sustained at that point—the enemy making several efforts, both with infantry and cavalry, against our line, and being always repulsed with heavy loss. I had placed all the regular cavalry, and Captain Pike's squadron of Arkansas horse, under the orders of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel May, with directions to hold in check the enemy's column, still advancing to the rear along the base of the mountain, which was done in conjunction with the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry under Colonels Marshall and Yell.

“In the mean time our left, which was still strongly threatened by a superior force, was farther strengthened by the detachment of Captain Bragg's, and a portion of Captain Sherman's batteries to that quarter. The concentration of artillery fire upon the masses of the enemy along the base of the mountain, and the determined resistance offered by the two regiments opposed to them, had created confusion in their ranks, and some of the corps attempted to effect a retreat upon their main line of battle. The squadron of the 1st dragoons, under Lieutenant Rucker, was now

ordered up the deep ravine which these retreating corps were endeavouring to cross, in order to charge and disperse them. The squadron proceeded to the point indicated, but could not accomplish the object, being exposed to a heavy fire from a battery established to cover the retreat of those corps. While the squadron was detached on this service, a large body of the enemy was observed to concentrate on our extreme left, apparently with a view of making a descent upon the hacienda of Buena Vista, where our train and baggage were deposited. Lieutenant-Colonel May was ordered to the support of that point, with two pieces of Captain Sherman's battery under Lieutenant Reynolds. In the mean time, the scattered forces near the hacienda, composed in part of Majors Trail and Gorman's commands, had been, to some extent, organized under the advice of Major Munroe, chief of artillery, with the assistance of Major Morrison, volunteer staff, and were posted to defend the position. Before our cavalry had reached the hacienda, that of the enemy had made its attack; having been handsomely met by the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry under Colonels Marshall and Yell. The Mexican column immediately divided, one portion sweeping by the depot, where it received a destructive fire from the force which had collected there, and then gaining the mountain opposite, under a fire from Lieutenant Reynolds's section, the remaining portion regaining the base of the mountain on our left. In the charge at Buena Vista, Colonel Yell fell gallantly at the head of his regiment; we also lost Adjutant Vaughan, of the Kentucky cavalry—a young officer of much promise. Lieutenant-Colonel May, who had been rejoined by the squadron of the 1st dragoons, and by portions of the Arkansas and Indiana troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Roane and Major Gorman, now approached the base of the mountain, holding in check the right flank of the enemy, upon

whose masses, crowded in the narrow gorges and ravines, our artillery was doing fearful execution.

“The position of that portion of the Mexican army which had gained our rear was now very critical, and it seemed doubtful whether it could regain the main body. At this moment I received from General Santa Anna a message by a staff officer, desiring to know what I wanted? I immediately despatched Brigadier-General Wool to the Mexican general-in-chief, and sent orders to cease firing. Upon reaching the Mexican lines General Wool could not cause the enemy to cease their fire, and accordingly returned without having an interview. The extreme right of the enemy continued its retreat along the base of the mountain, and finally, in spite of all our efforts, effected a junction with the remainder of the army.

“During the day, the cavalry of General Minon had ascended the elevated plain above Saltillo, and occupied the road from the city to the field of battle, where they intercepted several of our men. Approaching the town, they were fired upon by Captain Webster from the redoubt occupied by his company, and then moved off towards the eastern side of the valley, and obliquely towards Buena Vista. At this time, Captain Shover moved rapidly forward with his piece, supported by a miscellaneous command of mounted volunteers, and fired several shots at the cavalry with great effect. They were driven into the ravines which lead to the lower valley, closely pursued by Captain Shover, who was farther supported by a piece of Captain Webster’s battery, under Lieutenant Donaldson, which had advanced from the redoubt, supported by Captain Wheeler’s company of Illinois volunteers. The enemy made one or two efforts to charge the artillery, but was finally driven back in a confused mass, and did not again appear upon the plain.

“In the mean time, the firing had partially ceased upon

the principal field. The enemy seemed to confine his efforts to the protection of his artillery, and I had left the plateau for a moment, when I was recalled thither by a very heavy musketry fire. On regaining that position, I discovered that our infantry (Illinois and 2d Kentucky) had engaged a greatly superior force of the enemy—evidently his reserve—and that they had been overwhelmed by numbers. The moment was most critical. Captain O'Brien, with two pieces, had sustained this heavy charge to the last, and was finally obliged to leave his guns on the field—his infantry support being entirely routed. Captain Bragg, who had just arrived from the left, was ordered at once into battery. Without any infantry to support him, and at the imminent risk of losing his guns, this officer came rapidly into action, the Mexican line being but a few yards from the muzzle of his pieces. The first discharge of canister caused the enemy to hesitate, the second and third drove him back in disorder, and saved the day. The 2d Kentucky regiment, which had advanced beyond supporting distance in this affair, was driven back and closely pressed by the enemy's cavalry. Taking a ravine which led in the direction of Captain Washington's battery, their pursuers became exposed to his fire, which soon checked and drove them back with loss. In the mean time, the rest of our artillery had taken position on the plateau, covered by the Mississippi and 3d Indiana regiments, the former of which had reached the ground in time to pour a fire into the right flank of the enemy, and thus contribute to his repulse. In this last conflict we had the misfortune to sustain a very heavy loss. Colonel Hardin, 1st Illinois, and Colonel M'Kee and Lieutenant-Colonel Clay, 2d Kentucky regiment, fell at this time while gallantly leading their commands.

“No farther attempt was made by the enemy to force our position, and the approach of night gave an opportunity

to pay proper attention to the wounded, and also to refresh the soldiers, who had been exhausted by incessant watchfulness and combat. Though the night was severely cold, the troops were compelled for the most to bivouac without fires, expecting that morning would renew the conflict. During the night the wounded were removed to Saltillo, and every preparation made to receive the enemy, should he again attack our position. Seven fresh companies were drawn from the town, and Brigadier-General Marshall, with a reinforcement of Kentucky cavalry and four heavy guns, under Captain Prentiss, 1st artillery, was near at hand, when it was discovered that the enemy had abandoned his position during the night. Our scouts soon ascertained that he had fallen back upon Agua Nueva. The great disparity of numbers, and the exhaustion of our troops, rendered it inexpedient and hazardous to attempt pursuit. A staff officer was despatched to General Santa Anna to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, which was satisfactorily completed on the following day. Our own dead were collected and buried, and the Mexican wounded, of which a large number had been left upon the field, were removed to Saltillo, and rendered as comfortable as circumstances would permit.

“On the evening of the 26th, a close reconnoissance was made of the enemy’s position, which was found to be occupied only by a small body of cavalry, the infantry and artillery having retreated in the direction of San Luis Potosi. On the 27th, our troops resumed their former camp at Agua Nueva, the enemy’s rear-guard evacuating the place as we approached, leaving a considerable number of wounded. It was my purpose to beat up his quarters at Encarnacion early the next morning, but upon examination, the weak condition of the cavalry horses rendered it unadvisable to attempt so long a march without water. A command was finally despatched to Encarnacion, on the

1st of March, under Colonel Belknap. Some two hundred wounded, and about sixty Mexican soldiers were found there, the army having passed on in the direction of Matuhuala, with greatly reduced numbers, and suffering much from hunger. The dead and dying were strewed upon the road and crowded the buildings of the hacienda.

"The American force engaged in the action of Buena Vista is shown, by the accompanying field report, to have been three hundred and forty-four officers, and four thousand four hundred and twenty-five men, exclusive of the small command left in and near Saltillo. Of this number, two squadrons of cavalry and three batteries of light artillery, making not more than four hundred and fifty-three men, composed the only force of regular troops. The strength of the Mexican army is stated by General Santa Anna, in his summons, to be twenty thousand; and that estimate is confirmed by all the information since obtained. Our loss is two hundred and sixty-seven killed, four hundred and fifty-six wounded, and twenty-three missing. Of the numerous wounded, many did not require removal to the hospital, and it is hoped that a comparatively small number will be permanently disabled. The Mexican loss in killed and wounded may be fairly estimated at fifteen hundred, and will probably reach two thousand. At least five hundred of their killed were left upon the field of battle. We have no means of ascertaining the number of deserters and dispersed men from their ranks, but it is known to be very great."

The evening of the 23d found both armies in the same relative position, and on the same ground they had occupied in the morning. During the night, however, Santa Anna withdrew his shattered forces toward Potosi. The Americans expected an attack before morning, and were prepared for it; but under cover of the darkness, Santa Anna

withdrew his starving followers to Agua Nueva. Soon afterward General Taylor fell back toward Monterey.

On the 2d of March an escort of two hundred men, and a train of one hundred and fifty wagons, under Major Giddings, was attacked by General Urrea, at the head of a large party of lancers. The attack was so sudden that the train and escort were divided into two parties, the smaller of which Urrea summoned to surrender. A desultory conflict ensued in which the Americans succeeded in reuniting, and repelling their opponents with the loss of about forty. The major had two soldiers killed and fifteen teamsters. He proceeded without further molestation to Seralvo, where Colonel Curtis arrived in a few days with reinforcements, and assumed command. The whole party then commenced a pursuit of Urrea, which was continued until the 16th, when it met General Taylor with a portion of the main army, also in pursuit. The whole force, consisting of May's dragoons, Bragg's artillery, and Colonel Curtis's men, led by General Taylor, pushed after the Mexicans with renewed vigour; but, notwithstanding every exertion, Urrea succeeded in escaping beyond the mountains.

After this pursuit, General Taylor retired to Walnut Springs, where, on account of the small number of his troops, he was obliged to remain inactive during the summer and fall of 1847.

His splendid victories had given him a high reputation among his countrymen, and they placed the deepest confidence in him. But he had no further opportunities of engaging in active service in the field.

The military operations in other parts of the Mexican territory were completely successful. The plan of conducting the contest reflected much credit upon the administration, and especially upon Secretary Marcy.

In May, 1846, President Polk was authorized by Congress to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, to

continue the war which had commenced on the Rio Grande. Of this number ten companies composed a force destined to act against Santa Fe. They were formed of five companies United States dragoons, two of foot, two light artillery, and one volunteer horse. This army was placed under the direction of Colonel Stephen W. Kearny, who in a confidential letter from Secretary Marcy, dated June 3d, 1846, received in substance the following instructions: To organize for the expedition an additional force of one thousand men, in order to proceed from Santa Fe against Upper California; to establish a government there after taking possession; to receive as volunteers a number of Mormon and other emigrants, recently settled in the province; to co-operate with the naval force in the Pacific; to open trade with the Indians; and to respect the rights of the Californians. The letter concludes as follows: "I am directed by the president to say that the rank of brevet brigadier-general will be conferred on you as soon as you commence your movement towards California, and sent round to you by sea, or over the country, or to the care of the commandant of our squadron in the Pacific. In that way cannon, arms, ammunition, and supplies for the land forces, will be sent you."

The depot of Kearny's force was Fort Leavenworth. On the 27th of June his advance commenced its march; and by the 1st of August more than sixteen hundred men were concentrated at Bent's fort, having marched a distance of five hundred and sixty-four miles. The march was resumed on the 3d, and after a toilsome journey over frightful prairies, they arrived, August 12th, at the mountains near the Rio Grande.

Signs of hostility now began to appear; and messages arrived from General Armigo, governor of Santa Fe, requesting Kearny to advance no further, or at least to consent to negotiations for peace. The tone of these was,

dignified but earnest. The American commander replied that he came to take possession ; that the peaceable inhabitants should be well treated, but that the vengeance of both army and government would be poured upon all others. On the march the colonel received a despatch from government constituting him brigadier-general.

On the 18th of August General Kearny took possession of Sante Fe, in the name of the United States. The oath of allegiance was administered to the alcalde and inhabitants, and a military territorial government established. No opposition was experienced, Governor Armigo and his army having fled at the approach of the Americans. General Kearny was proclaimed governor, erected a fort (called Fort Marcy), and published a proclamation to the inhabitants.

After seeing everything in a state of tranquillity, General Kearney commenced his march, September 25th, for the distant region of California.

Before the general had accomplished this arduous undertaking, Colonel Doniphan, with his citizen volunteers, commenced one of equal magnitude, and pregnant with events of paramount importance. When Kearny left Santa Fe he ordered the colonel to proceed as soon as practicable into Chihuahua, and report to General Wool, who with the centre division had been intrusted with the conquering of that province.

On the 17th of December, Doniphan, with 924 men, began his expedition. On the 24th they reached the Jornada lake, into which runs the Brazito river, more than twenty miles from the Paso del Norte, of the eastern mountain range. Here they were informed that the Mexicans, to the number of 1000, were collected at the Pass, ready for an attack. The Americans numbered about 600, the remainder being sick. On the afternoon of the following day (Christmas), the enemy were seen approaching,

and, when within eight hundred yards, extended themselves so as to cover the American flank. An officer approached, carrying a black flag, and after proclaiming no quarters, rejoined his column, which immediately charged at a rapid gallop. The conflict was but short—the Mexicans being defeated with the loss of thirty killed, and driven into the mountains. Eight were captured, six of whom subsequently died; and their single piece of cannon was also taken. The Americans had seven wounded. On the 27th Doniphan entered the town of El Paso, without resistance, where he was reinforced by Major Clark's artillery.

On the 8th of February, 1847, the whole command (924 men) left the Paso del Norte, and marched for Chihuahua. On the 28th they fought the great battle of Sacramento.

At the Pass, naturally strong, 4000 Mexicans were posted, with complete fortifications. The battle commenced about three o'clock, and by evening, the enemy were routed with great slaughter. The loss of Doniphan's command was one man killed, one mortally wounded, and seven slightly wounded. The loss of the enemy was the entire artillery, baggage, and stores, about 300 men killed, the same number wounded, and forty made prisoners. In many respects this was one of the most brilliant achievements of the war.

On the 1st of March Colonel Doniphan took possession of Chihuahua, where he remained three weeks. At the end of this time, having received orders from General Wool, he marched, April 25th, for Saltillo. On the road, Captain Reid defeated about fifty Indians near El Paso, May 13, capturing 1000 horses. On the 22d of May the command reached Wool's encampment, and on the 27th, that of General Taylor.

As the term of service of these gallant men had expired, they now commenced their return. Early in June they

marched through Matamoras, and on the 16th arrived at New Orleans.

Meanwhile a military and naval force under the direction, first, of Commodore Sloat, and afterwards of Commodore Stockton, had taken possession of California, and published a proclamation to the inhabitants, claiming it as part of the United States. The head quarters of his forces was the Ciudad de los Angeles. An elective government was established, officers elected, and a tariff on imports established. Stockton then proceeded to San Francisco. The fleet in the mean while blockaded the entire coast of California, and on the 19th of November, 1846, captured the town of Panuco.

While the commodore was congratulating himself upon the favourable condition of affairs, the inhabitants of Los Angeles suddenly arose in revolt, and compelled the surrender of Captain Gillespie, with thirty men. Immediately after the whole region south of Monterey (California) were in arms. Stockton, accompanied by Colonel Fremont, hastened back, and commenced a desultory war with the insurrectionists, which lasted until January, 1847, when, in the battle of San Gabriel (8th and 9th), the Mexicans were defeated, and subordination restored. Kearny, who had lately arrived in California, aided Stockton in this battle.

A dispute now arose between Kearny and Stockton, concerning the government of California. The former produced his commission as governor from the president; but for several reasons, Stockton declared it null. To this opinion Colonel Fremont assented. Kearny submitted until the arrival of reinforcements, when Stockton left the territory, and the general arrested Fremont, and sent him to the United States. After a most thorough investigation, which lasted more than two months, he was found guilty of mutiny, disobedience of orders, and unofficer-like conduct,

and sentenced to be dismissed from the army. Being recommended, however, to the clemency of the president, the sentence was remitted, and the colonel immediately reported for duty.

At the end of 1846, a large portion of Mexico had been subdued by the American forces. A decisive campaign against Vera Cruz, the chief port, and the city of Mexico itself, was then determined upon by the administration. General Scott, commander-in-chief of the army, was ordered to the Rio Grande, where he arrived on the 1st of January, 1847. About twelve thousand troops were soon concentrated at Point Isabel. Vera Cruz was the first object of attack. It was strongly fortified, and its castle, called San Juan de Ulloa, was deemed impregnable.

After considerable delay in completing necessary arrangements, the fleet under Commodore Conner, having on board the commander and his army, arrived off Vera Cruz. The landing is thus described by the commodore himself:

“Whilst we were transferring the troops from the ships to the surf-boats (sixty-five in number), I directed the steamers Spitfire and Vixen, and the five gunboats, to form a line parallel with and close in to the beach, to cover the landing. This order was promptly executed, and these small vessels, from the lightness of their draft, were enabled to take positions within good grape-range of the shore. As the boats severally received their complements of troops, they assembled in a line, abreast, between the fleet and the gunboats; and when all were ready, they pulled in together, under the guidance of a number of officers of the squadron, who had been detailed for this purpose. General Worth commanded this, the first line of the army, and had the satisfaction of forming his command on the beach and neighbouring heights just before sunset. Four thousand five hundred men were thus thrown on shore, almost simultaneously. No enemy appeared to offer us the slightest

opposition. The first line being landed, the boats in successive trips relieved the men-of-war and transports of the remaining troops by ten o'clock, P. M. The whole army, (save a few straggling companies), consisting of upwards of twelve thousand men, were thus safely deposited on shore, without the slightest accident of any kind."

An account of this celebrated siege we give in General Scott's own words. His first despatch is dated March 23d, 1847:

"Yesterday, seven of our ten-inch mortars being in battery, and the labours for planting the remainder of our heavy metal being in progress, I addressed, at two o'clock, P. M., a summons to the governor of Vera Cruz, and within two hours limited by the bearer of the flag, received the governor's answer. Copies of the two papers (marked respectively, A and B) are herewith enclosed.

"It will be perceived that the governor, who it turns out is the commander of both places, chose, against the plain terms of the summons, to suppose me to have demanded the surrender of the castle and of the city—when, in fact, from the non-arrival of our heavy metal—principally mortars—I was in no condition to threaten the former.

"On the return of the flag with that reply, I at once ordered the seven mortars, in battery, to open upon the city. In a short time the smaller vessels of Commodore Perry's squadron—two steamers and five schooners—according to previous arrangement with him, approached the city within about a mile and an eighth, whence, being partially covered from the castle—an essential condition to their safety—they also opened a brisk fire upon the city. This has been continued, uninterruptedly, by the mortars, only with a few intermissions, by the vessels, up to nine o'clock this morning, when the commodore very properly called them off a position too daringly assumed.

"Our three remaining mortars are now (twelve o'clock,

M.) in battery, and the whole ten in activity. To-morrow, early, if the city should continue obstinate, batteries Nos. 4 and 5 will be ready to add their fire: No. 4, consisting of four twenty-four pounders and two eight-inch paixhan guns, and No. 5 (naval battery), of three thirty-two pounders and three eight-inch paixhans—the guns, officers, and sailors landed from the squadron—our friends of the navy being unremitting in their zealous co-operation, in every mode and form.

“So far, we know that our fire upon the city has been highly effective—particularly from the batteries of ten-inch mortars, planted at about 800 yards from the city. Including the preparation and defence of the batteries, from the beginning—now many days—and notwithstanding the heavy fire of the enemy from city and castle, we have only had four or five men wounded, and one officer and one man killed, in or near the trenches. That officer was Captain John R. Vinton, of the United States 3d artillery, one of the most talented, accomplished, and effective members of the army, and was highly distinguished in the brilliant operations at Monterey. He fell, last evening, in the trenches, where he was on duty as field and commanding officer, universally regretted. I have just attended his honoured remains to a soldier’s grave, in full view of the enemy, and within reach of his guns.

“Thirteen of the long-needed mortars—leaving twenty-seven, besides heavy guns, behind—have arrived, and two of them landed. A heavy norther then set in (at meridian) which stopped that operation, and also the landing of shells. Hence the fire of our mortar batteries has been slackened, since two o’clock to-day, and cannot be reinvigorated until we shall again have a smooth sea. In the mean time I shall leave this report open for journalizing events that may occur up to the departure of the steamship-of-war Princeton, with Commodore Conner, who, I learn, expects to leave the

anchorage off Sacrificios, for the United States, the 25th instant.

"March 24. The storm having subsided in the night, we commenced this forenoon, as soon as the sea became a little smooth, to land shot, shells, and mortars.

"March 25. All the batteries, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, are in awful activity this morning. The effect is, no doubt, very great, and I think the city cannot hold out beyond to-day. To-morrow morning many of the new mortars will be in a position to add their fire, when, or after the delay of some twelve hours, if no proposition to surrender should be received, I shall organize parties for carrying the city by assault. So far the defence has been spirited and obstinate."

In a subsequent letter he writes :

"The flag of the United States of America floats triumphantly over the walls of this city and the castle of St. Juan de Ulloa.

"Our troops have garrisoned both since ten o'clock. It is now noon. Brigadier-General Worth is in command of the two places.

"Articles of capitulation were signed and exchanged at a late hour night before the last.

"I have heretofore reported the principal incidents of the siege, up to the 25th instant. Nothing of striking interest occurred, until early in the morning of the next day, when I received overtures from General Landero, on whom General Morales had devolved the principal command."

"Yesterday, after the norther had abated," says General Scott, "and the commissioners appointed by me early the morning before had again met those appointed by General Landero, Commodore Perry sent ashore his second in command, Captain Aulick, as a commissioner on the part of the navy. Although not included in my specific arrangement made with the Mexican commander, I did not hesitate, with proper courtesy, to desire that Captain Aulick

might be duly introduced and allowed to participate in the discussions and acts of the commissioners who had been reciprocally accredited. The original American commissioners were, Brevet Brigadier-General Worth, Brigadier-General Pillow, and Colonel Totten. Four more able or judicious officers could not have been desired."

The city and castle of Vera Cruz surrendered on the following terms, which were rigidly adhered to :

"1. The whole garrison, or garrisons, to be surrendered to the arms of the United States, as prisoners of war, the 29th instant, at ten o'clock, A. M.; the garrisons to be permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and to lay down their arms to such officers as may be appointed by the general-in-chief of the United States armies, and at a point to be agreed upon by the commissioners.

"2. Mexican officers shall preserve their arms and private effects, including horses and horse-furniture, and to be allowed, regular and irregular officers, as also the rank and file, five days to retire to their respective homes, on parole, as hereinafter prescribed.

"3. Coincident with the surrender, as stipulated in article 1, the Mexican flags of the various forts and stations shall be struck, saluted by their own batteries; and immediately thereafter, Forts Santiago and Conception, and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, occupied by the forces of the United States.

"4. The rank and file of the regular portion of the prisoners to be disposed of after surrender and parole, as their general-in-chief may desire, and the irregular to be permitted to return to their homes. The officers, in respect to all arms and descriptions of force, giving the usual parole, that the said rank and file, as well as themselves, shall not serve again until duly exchanged.

"5. All the *materiel* of war, and all public property of every description found in the city, the castle of San Juan

de Ulloa and their dependencies, to belong to the United States; but the armament of the same, (not injured or destroyed in the further prosecution of the actual war), may be considered as liable to be restored to Mexico by a definite treaty of peace.

“6. The sick and wounded Mexicans to be allowed to remain in the city with such medical officers and attendants, and officers of the army, as may be necessary to their care and treatment.

“7. Absolute protection is solemnly guarantied to persons in the city, and property, and it is clearly understood that no private building or property is to be taken or used by the forces of the United States, without previous arrangement with the owners, and for a fair equivalent.

“8. Absolute freedom of religious worship and ceremonies is solemnly guarantied.”

The loss of the besiegers was only twelve killed and sixty-five wounded. The loss of the enemy was very severe during the bombardment.

After remaining more than two weeks with his army at Vera Cruz, General Scott commenced his advance, April 8th, for the capital. On the 11th, Twiggs's division reached the Plan del Rio, where, in a few days, it was joined by those of Quitman and Worth.

At this time Santa Anna was stationed at the strong mountain pass of Sierra Gordo, which he had fortified with the greatest precaution. Here he awaited the arrival of the Americans with firmness, calculating, that the advantages of his position, and his superiority of force, would give him an easy victory over the army of General Scott.

The American commander formed his plan of attack with remarkable skill, and his orders were executed with equally wonderful precision. On the 17th of April, Colonel

Harney took possession of a strong post to the left of the Sierra.

Everything being ready for a general attack, Twiggs's division moved, on the morning of the 18th, against the main fortress, Pillow's against that on the right, and Shields's and Worth's to the road, in order to cut off all retreat. The troops composing the first, headed by Colonel Harney, pushed forward under a tremendous fire, and soon swept the works with the bayonet; but La Vega succeeded in repulsing General Pillow. He finally surrendered, however, on ascertaining that Santa Anna was defeated. The latter fled with precipitation, accompanied by Generals Almonte and Canalizo, and about half the army escaped by flight. He was so hotly pursued by Colonel Harney, as to leave behind his state carriage, trunks, and several thousand dollars in silver.

In this battle the Americans lost about two hundred and fifty in killed and wounded. General Shields was shot through the lungs by a musket ball, but, to the astonishment of all, survived. The loss of the Mexicans was about the same, exclusive of prisoners, who numbered three thousand. So great a quantity of stores, small arms, cannon, ammunition, &c., were taken, that General Scott, in his despatch to government, stated that he was embarrassed with the results of victory. The force of the enemy in this battle numbered eleven thousand; that of the Americans, six thousand.

The several divisions of the army rapidly pursued their success. On the 19th Twiggs entered Jalapa without opposition. On the 22d General Worth took undisputed possession of the town and castle of Perote, one of the strongest in Mexico. Tuspan, on the sea coast, had been previously taken (18th) by a portion of the gulf squadron, under Commodore Perry. Worth remained near Jalapa

until the 15th of May, when he captured the city of Puebla.

The army remained at Puebla until August, when reinforcements having arrived, General Scott began his famous march for the city of Mexico. The troops passed the Rio Frio without opposition, and on the 10th reached Ayotla. Here a careful reconnoissance was made of the position El Penon, a fortification strongly defended by both nature and art. It had also been garrisoned with so much care, that General Scott determined to avoid it by marching round Lake Chalco, over a road discovered by General Worth. On the evening of the 17th, Worth's division arrived near San Antonio, after a most toilsome march over a rugged, broken road. On the following day Captain Thornton was killed while reconnoitering the Mexican position. The troops lay on their arms all night, and on the following day, at one o'clock P. M., Generals Smith and Riley attacked Contreras. This strong fortress was carried before daylight of the 20th, the enemy being completely routed with immense slaughter. An officer thus describes the taking of Churubusco :

“General Worth had made a demonstration on San Antonio, where the enemy was fortified in a strong hacienda; but they retired, on his approach, to Churubusco, where the works were deemed impregnable. They consisted of a fortified hacienda, which was surrounded by a high and thick wall on all sides. Inside the wall was a stone building, the roof of which was flat and higher than the walls. Above all this was a stone church, still higher than the rest, and having a large steeple. The wall was pierced with loopholes, and so arranged that there were two tiers of men firing at the same time. They thus had four different ranges of men firing at once, and four ranks were formed on each range and placed at such a height that they could not only overlook all the surround-

ing country, but at the same time they had a plunging fire upon us. Outside the hacienda, and completely commanding the avenues of approach, was a field-work extending around two sides of the work and protected by a deep, wet ditch, and armed with seven large pieces. The hacienda is at the commencement of the causeway leading to the western gate of the city, and had to be passed before getting on the road. About three hundred yards in the rear of this work, another field-work had been built where a cross road meets the causeway, at a point where it crosses a river, thus forming a bridge head, or *tête de pont*. This was also very strong and armed with three very large pieces of cannon. The works were surrounded on every side by large corn-fields, which were filled with the enemy's skirmishers, so that it was difficult to make a reconnoissance. It was therefore decided to make the attack immediately, as they were full of men and extended for nearly a mile on the road to the city, completely covering the causeway. The attack commenced about one P. M. General Twiggs's division attacked on the side towards which they approached the fort, *i. e.*, opposite the city. General Worth's attacked the bridge head, which he took in about an hour and a half; while Generals Pillow and Quitman were on the extreme left, between the causeway and Twiggs's division. The rifles were on the left, and in the rear of the work, intrusted by General Scott with the task of charging the work in case General Pierce gave way. The firing was most tremendous—in fact one continued roll while the combat lasted. The enemy, from their elevated position, could readily see our men, who were unable to get a clear view from their position. Three of the pieces were manned by 'The Deserters,' a body of about one hundred, who had deserted from the ranks of our army during the war. They were enrolled in two companies, commanded by a deserter, and were better uniformed and disciplined than the

rest of the army. These men fought most desperately, and are said not only to have shot down several of our officers whom they knew, but to have pulled down the white flag of surrender no less than three times.

“The battle raged most furiously for about three hours, when both sides having lost a great many, the enemy began to give way. As soon as they commenced retreating, Kearny’s squadron passed through the *tête de pont*, and charging through the retreating column, pursued them to the very gate of the city. As they got within about five hundred yards of the gate, they were opened upon with grape and canister, and several officers wounded.

“The official returns give our loss in killed and wounded in the two battles of Contreras and Churubusco at eleven hundred and fifty, besides officers. The Mexican loss is five hundred killed in the second battle, one thousand wounded, and eleven hundred prisoners, exclusive of officers. Three more generals were taken, among them General Rincon, and Anaya, the provisional president; also ten pieces of cannon, and an immense amount of ammunition and stores. Santa Anna, in his report, states his loss in killed, wounded, and missing, at twelve thousand. He has only eighteen thousand left out of thirty thousand, which he gives as his force on the 20th, in both actions.”

Mindful of the desire so often expressed by President Polk to conquer a peace, General Scott halted his victorious troops within sight of the capital, and offered terms of an armistice preparatory to the opening of negotiations for a peace. The offer was gladly accepted, and an armistice concluded.

During the cessation of hostilities, court-martials, appointed by General Scott, tried and sentenced Sergeant Riley, and seventy others, who had deserted at various times. Fifty were sentenced to be hung, but were afterwards pardoned. The remainder, including the sergeant,

having joined the Mexicans prior to the declaration of war, were branded, publicly whipped, sentenced to solitary confinement, with a chain and ball, while the army shall remain in Mexico, and afterwards to be drummed out of service. All these men were captured fighting desperately at Churubusco.

Overtures of peace were now made by Mr. Trist, the American plenipotentiary, who agreed that the United States should pay a certain sum for California, and retain Texas with the Rio Grande as the boundary. To the latter condition the Mexicans would not assent. On the 2d of September, Mr. Trist handed in his ultimatum on boundaries, and the negotiators adjourned to reassemble on the 6th.

General Scott thus details the operations subsequent to the meeting of the commissioners :

“Some infractions of the truce, in respect to our supplies from the city, were earlier committed, followed by apologies, on the part of the enemy. Those vexations I was willing to put down to the imbecility of the government, and waived pointed demands of reparation while any hope remained of a satisfactory termination of the war. But on the 5th, and more fully on the 6th, I learned that as soon as the *ultimatum* had been considered in a grand council of ministers and others, President Santa Anna, on the 4th or 5th, without giving me the slightest notice, actively recommenced strengthening the military defences of the city, in gross violation of the third article of the armistice.

“On that information, which has since received the fullest verification, I addressed to him my note of the 6th. His reply, dated the same day, received the next morning, was absolutely and notoriously false, both in recrimination and explanation. I enclose copies of both papers, and have had no subsequent correspondence with the enemy. Being delayed by the terms of the armistice more than two weeks,

we had now, late on the 7th, to begin to reconnoitre the different approaches to the city, within our reach, before I could lay down any definite plan of attack.

“The same afternoon a large body of the enemy was discovered hovering about the Molinos del Rey, within a mile and a third of this village, where I am quartered with the general staff and Worth’s division.

“It might have been supposed that an attack upon us was intended; but knowing the great value to the enemy of those mills (Molinos del Rey), containing a cannon foundry, with a large deposit of powder in Casa Mata near them; and having heard, two days before, that many church bells had been sent out to be cast into guns, the enemy’s movement was easily understood, and I resolved at once, to drive him early the next morning, to seize the powder, and to destroy the foundry.

“Another motive for this decision—leaving the general plan of attack upon the city for full reconnoissances—was, that we knew our recent captures had left the enemy not a fourth of the guns necessary to arm, all at the same time, the strong works at each of the eight city gates; and we could not cut the communication between the capital and the foundry without first taking the formidable castle on the heights of Chapultepec, which overlooked both and stood between.”

The management of this important assault was intrusted to Major-General Worth. He describes his operations as follows :

“Having, in the course of the 7th, accompanied the general-in-chief, on a reconnoissance of the formidable dispositions of the enemy, near and around the castle of Chapultepec, they were found to exhibit an extended line of cavalry and infantry, sustained by a field-battery of four guns—occupying directly, or sustaining, a system of defences collateral to the castle and summit. This examina-

tion gave fair observation of the configuration of the grounds, and the extent of the enemy's force, but, as appeared in the sequel, an inadequate idea of the nature of his defences—they being skilfully masked.

“The general-in-chief ordered that my division, reinforced, should attack and carry those lines and defences, capture the enemy's artillery, destroy the machinery and material supposed to be in the foundry (El Molino del Rey); but limiting the operations to that extent. After which my command was to be immediately withdrawn to its position in the village of Tacubaya.

“A close and daring reconnoissance by Captain Mason, of the engineers, made on the morning of the 7th, represented the enemy's lines collateral to Chapultepec to be as follows: his left rested upon and occupied a group of strong stone buildings, called El Molino del Rey, adjoining the grove at the foot of the hill of Chapultepec, and directly under the guns of the castle which crowns its summit. The right of this line rested upon another stone building, called Casa Mata, situated at the foot of the ridge that slopes gradually from the heights above the village of Tacubaya to the plain below. Midway between these buildings was the enemy's field-battery, and his infantry forces were disposed on either side to support it. This reconnoissance was verified by Captain Mason and Colonel Duncan, on the afternoon of the same day. The result indicated that the centre was the weak point of the enemy's position, and that his flanks were the strong points, his left flank being the stronger.

“As the enemy's system of defence was connected with the hill and castle of Chapultepec, and as my operations were limited to a specific object, it became necessary to isolate the work to be accomplished from the castle of Chapultepec and its immediate defences. To effect this this object, the following dispositions were ordered: Colonel

Garland's brigade to take position on the right, strengthened by two pieces of Captain Drum's battery, to look to El Molino del Rey as well as any support of this position from Chapultepec; and also within sustaining distance of the assaulting party and the battering guns, which, under Captain Huger, were placed on the ridge, five or six hundred yards from El Molino del Rey, to batter and loosen this position from Chapultepec. An assaulting party of five hundred picked men and officers, under command of Brevet Major George Wright, 8th infantry, was also posted on the ridge to the left of the battering guns to force the enemy's centre. The 2d (Clark's) brigade, the command of which devolved on Colonel M'Intosh, Colonel Clark being sick, with Duncan's battery, was to take post still farther up the ridge, opposite the enemy's right, to look to our left flank, to sustain the assaulting column, if necessary, or to discomfit the enemy, the ground being favourable, as circumstances might require. Cadwalader's brigade was held in reserve, in a position on the ridge, between the battering guns and M'Intosh's brigade, and in easy support of either. The cavalry, under Major Summer, to envelop our extreme left, and be governed by circumstances—to repel or attack, as the commander's judgment might suggest. The troops to be put in position under cover of the night, and the work to begin as soon as the heavy material could be properly directed. Colonel Duncan was charged with the general disposition of the artillery.

“Accordingly, at three o'clock on the morning of the 8th, the several columns were put in motion, on as many different routes; and, when the gray of the morning enabled them to be seen, they were as accurately in position as if posted in midday for review. The early dawn was the moment appointed for the attack, which was announced to our troops by the opening of Huger's guns on El Molino del Rey, upon which they continued to play actively, until

this point of the enemy's line became sensibly shaken, when the assaulting party, commanded by Wright, and guided by that accomplished officer, Captain Mason, of the engineers, assisted by Lieutenant Foster, dashed gallantly forward to the assault. Unshaken by the galling fire of musketry and canister that was showered upon them, on they rushed, driving infantry and artillerymen at the point of the bayonet. The enemy's field-battery was taken, and his own guns were trailed upon his retreating masses; before, however, they could be discharged, perceiving that he had been dispossessed of this strong position by comparatively a handful of men, he made a desperate effort to regain it. Accordingly his retiring forces rallied and formed with this object. Aided by the infantry, which covered the house tops (within reach of which the battery had been moved during the night), the enemy's whole line opened upon the assaulting party a terrific fire of musketry, which struck down *eleven* out of the *fourteen* officers that composed the command, and non-commissioned officers and men in proportion; including, amongst the officers, Brevet Major Wright, the commander; Captain Mason and Lieutenant Foster, engineers: all severely wounded.

"This severe shock staggered, for a moment, that gallant band. The light battalion, held to cover Huger's battery, under Captain E. Kirby Smith (Lieutenant-Colonel Smith being sick), and the right wing of Cadwalader's brigade, were promptly ordered forward to support, which order was executed in the most gallant style; the enemy was again routed, and this point of his line carried, and fully possessed by our troops. In the mean time, Garland's (1st) brigade, ably sustained by Captain Drum's artillery, assaulted the enemy's left, and, after an obstinate and very severe contest, drove him from this apparently impregnable position, immediately under the guns of the castle of Chapultepec. Drum's section, and the battering

guns under Captain Huger, advanced to the enemy's position, and the captured guns of the enemy were now opened on his retreating forces, on which they continued to fire until beyond their reach.

“While this work was in progress of accomplishment, by our centre and right, our troops on the left were not idle. Duncan's battery opened on the right of the enemy's line, up to this time engaged; and the 2d brigade, under Colonel M'Intosh, was now ordered to assault the extreme right of the enemy's line. The direction of this brigade soon caused it to mask Duncan's battery—the fire of which, for the moment, was discontinued—and the brigade moved steadily on to the assault of Casa Mata, which, instead of an ordinary field intrenchment, as was supposed, proved to be a strong stone citadel, surrounded with bastioned intrenchments and impassable ditches—an old Spanish work, recently repaired and enlarged. When within easy musket range, the enemy opened a most deadly fire upon our advancing troops, which was kept up, without intermission, until our gallant men reached the very slope of the parapet of the work that surrounded the citadel. By this time a large proportion of the command was either killed or wounded, amongst whom were the three senior officers present—Brevet Colonel M'Intosh, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, of the 5th infantry, and Major Waite, 8th infantry; the second killed, and the first and last desperately wounded. Still, the fire from the citadel was unabated. In this crisis of the attack, the command was, momentarily, thrown into disorder, and fell back on the left of Duncan's battery, where they rallied.

As the 2d brigade moved to the assault, a very large cavalry and infantry force was discovered approaching rapidly upon our left flank, to reinforce the enemy's right. As soon as Duncan's battery was masked as before mentioned, supported by Andrew's voltigeurs, of Cadwalader's

brigade, it moved promptly to the extreme left of our line, to check the threatened assault on this point. The enemy's cavalry came rapidly within canister range, when the whole battery opened a most effective fire, which soon broke the squadrons, and drove them back in disorder. During this fire upon the enemy's cavalry, Major Sumner's command moved to the front, and changed direction in admirable order, under a most appalling fire from the Casa Mata. This movement enabled his command to cross the ravine immediately on the left of Duncan's battery, where it remained, doing noble service until the close of the action. At the very moment the cavalry were driven beyond reach, our own troops drew back from before the Casa Mata, and enabled the guns of Duncan's battery to reopen upon this position; which, after a short and well-directed fire, the enemy abandoned. The guns of the battery were now turned upon his retreating columns, and continued to play upon them until beyond reach.

“He was now driven from every point of the field, and his strong lines, which had certainly been defended well, were in our possession. In fulfilment of the instructions of the commander-in-chief, the Casa Mata was blown up, and such of the captured ammunition as was useless to us, as well as the cannon moulds found in El Molino del Rey, were destroyed. After which my command, under the reiterated orders of the general-in-chief, returned to quarters at Tacubaya, with three of the enemy's four guns (the fourth having been spiked, was rendered unserviceable); as also a large quantity of small arms, with gun and musket ammunition, and exceeding eight hundred prisoners, including fifty-two commissioned officers.

“By concurrent testimony of prisoners the enemy's force exceeded fourteen thousand men commanded by General Santa Anna in person. His total loss, killed, including the second and third in command, (Generals Valdarez and

Leon), wounded and prisoners, amounts to three thousand, exclusive of some two thousand who deserted after the rout.

“My command, reinforced as before stated, only reached 3100 men of all arms. The contest continued two hours, and its severity is painfully attested by our heavy loss of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, including in the first two classes some of the brightest ornaments of the service.”

This victory prepared the way for more important ones. The time from the 8th to the 11th was spent in careful reconnoissances of the defences around the capital. A description of these we give in General Scott's own words :

“This city (Mexico) stands on a slight swell of ground, near the centre of an irregular basin, and is girdled with a ditch in its greater extent—a navigable canal of great breadth and depth—very difficult to bridge in the presence of an enemy, and serving at once for drainage, custom-house purposes, and military defence; having eight entrances or gates over arches—each of which we found defended by a system of strong works, that seemed to require nothing but some men and guns to be impregnable. Outside, and within the cross-fires of those gates, we found to the south other obstacles, little less formidable. All the approaches near the city are elevated causeways, cut in many places (to oppose us), and flanked on both sides by ditches, also of unusual dimensions. The numerous cross-roads are flanked in like manner, having bridges at the intersections, recently broken. The meadows thus checkered are, moreover, in many spots, under water, or marshy; for, it will be remembered, we were in the midst of the wet season, though with less rain than usual, and we could not wait for the fall of the neighbouring lakes, and the consequent drainage of the wet grounds at the edge of the city.”

In order to save the lives of his men, by avoiding these

formidable obstacles, General Scott determined on a sudden and secret movement to the south-west, where the defences were feeble. This was admirably executed, the enemy mistaking a feint for the real march, until it was too late to retrieve themselves.

The most important step in the new movement was the capture of Chapultepec, a natural and isolated mound, of great elevation, strongly fortified at its base. Besides a numerous garrison, there was stationed at this place the military college of the republic, containing a large number of sub-lieutenants and other students. The bombardment of this strong place was commenced on the morning of the 12th, and continued with great activity, under the direction of Captain Huger, throughout the day. It was renewed on the following day, and kept up until eight o'clock, when General Scott gave signal to the divisions of Pillow and Quitman for a general assault. The redoubt yielded to resistless valour, and the enemy were so closely pursued as to be unable to fire a single mine without blowing up friend and foe. Then the ditch and wall of the main work were reached; scaling-ladders planted, and hundreds rushed over among the garrison. The cannon ceased, and the dire clashing of bayonets told of mortal strife. This also ceased, and long, loud cheers announced that Chapultepec had fallen.

Simultaneously with the movement on the west, General Quitman had approached on the east, over a causeway, with cuts and batteries, defended by troops without and within. Deep ditches flanking the causeway, made it difficult to cross on either side, into the adjoining meadows, and these again were intersected by other ditches. By skilful manœuvring, the New York, South Carolina, and 2d Pennsylvania volunteers, with portions of Quitman's storming parties, crossed the meadows in front, under a heavy fire, and entered the outer enclosure of Chapultepec, in time to join in the final assault from the west.

In the commencement of this brilliant affair, General Worth had been stationed in rear of the castle, to act as circumstances might require. During the attack, one brigade had been withdrawn by Pillow, to assist his movements; and on observing a large party of the enemy outside the works, General Scott ordered him to turn Chapultepec with his division, proceeding cautiously by the road at its northern base, in order, if not met by very superior numbers, to threaten and attack the rear of that force. Worth promptly obeyed these directions, although having but one brigade. In turning a forest, he came up with the troops under Colonel Trousdale, and aided in taking a breastwork. Then passing Chapultepec, he attacked the right of the enemy's line, at the time of the general retreat consequent upon the capture of the castle. After this he entered the San Cosme road, and commenced a rapid pursuit of the flying enemy. At the same time Quitman was hurrying forward by the Belen aqueduct.

Deeming the continuance of this pursuit highly important, General Scott sent two brigades to assist Worth, and one for the same purpose to Quitman. At a junction of the roads they found a formidable system of defences, entirely abandoned. Into these Worth's troops entered, and commenced a street fight with the enemy, who were posted in gardens, at windows, and on house tops. Worth ordered forward the mountain howitzers of Cadwalader's brigade, preceded by skirmishers and pioneers, with bars and axes, to force doors and windows, and to burrow through walls. Soon the assailants were in an equality of position with the enemy, and by eight o'clock, P. M., had carried two batteries. This brought them in front of the San Cosme gate, the only remaining obstruction to the grand plaza fronting the cathedral and palace. Here, in obedience to instructions, Worth halted, posted guards and sentinels, and placed his troops under shelter for the night.

Meanwhile, Quitman, assisted by Generals Shields and Smith, had passed rapidly along the other road, carried a battery in the face of flank and direct fires, stormed the Belen gate at two o'clock, and entered the city. Here he halted, sheltered himself as well as practicable, and waited for further instructions.

At four o'clock next morning, a deputation of the city council waited on General Scott, to report that the army and federal government had fled from the city about midnight, in consequence of which they demanded terms of capitulation. The general replied, that he would sign no capitulation, nor submit to any terms not self-imposed—such only as the honour of his army, the dignity of his country, and the spirit of the age demanded.

About daylight, Worth and Quitman were ordered to advance slowly and cautiously toward the heart of the city, and occupy its commanding points. The latter officer proceeded to the great square, planted guards, and hoisted the colours of the United States on the National Palace. At about eight o'clock, the general-in-chief, dressed in full uniform, accompanied by his staff, and escorted by bands of music, entered the city at the head of his army. Before noon, a fire was opened upon the Americans, from the corners of streets, windows, and roofs of houses, by some 2000 convicts, liberated the night before by the flying government. This cowardly war lasted more than twenty-four hours, notwithstanding all the exertions of the municipal authorities, and was not put down until the army had lost many men killed and wounded, including several officers. General Quitman was appointed military governor of the city, and Captain Naylor superintendent of the National Palace. The former returning soon after to the United States, was succeeded by General Smith.

Having thus, after a rapid and splendid campaign, obtained possession of the Mexican capital, General Scott pro-

claimed martial law, and levied a contribution upon the inhabitants.

In the mean time numerous sanguinary conflicts had occurred upon the road between Vera Cruz and the capital, between the guerilla bands and the regiments which were marching to join General Scott. Early in May, a party of infantry encountered the guerillas at the National Bridge, and defeated them. Late in the same month, Captain Walker, with 800 men, while escorting a wagon train, was attacked by the guerillas, who were, however, repulsed with loss. Early in June, another very valuable train was attacked, and although the assailants were forced to retire, they succeeded in carrying off 28 wagons, 200 pack mules, and a large amount of specie. Soon afterwards, General Cadwalader, with 1000 men, was attacked at the National Bridge by a large force of Mexicans. A furious action ensued. The Mexicans lost about 100 men, and then retreated. The loss of the Americans was nearly as great. Cadwalader passed the bridge and proceeded towards General Scott's army. Other conflicts occurred, in which the Mexican guerillas were the assailants, but though they did much injury to the invaders, they were invariably repulsed with loss.

In July, General Pierce left Vera Cruz to join Scott's army, having with him 2500 men, 150 wagons, 700 mules, and \$1,000,000 in specie. At the National Bridge, he was attacked by 1400 Mexicans, and a furious action ensued. The Mexicans were defeated. Their loss was about 150 men—that of the Americans was about thirty. After returning to Vera Cruz for artillery and reinforcements, the general marched forward and reached Puebla on the 6th of August. For some months the guerillas, under the able direction of Father Jarauta, kept the region between Vera Cruz and Puebla in continual alarm. All attempts to capture the warlike priest were ineffectual.

On the same day that Chapultepec was carried (September 13th), the governor of Puebla, Colonel Childs, was fired upon in the castle of San Jose, from several of the streets of the city. The attack ceased on the 14th, but was renewed at night, and continued without intermission for twenty-eight days. The enemy completely surrounded the city, cutting off all supplies, and endeavouring to change the course of the water stream. On the 22d, Santa Anna arrived with large reinforcements, who, on the 25th, summoned the garrison to surrender. On receiving a refusal, he added a heavy bombardment to the already large fire upon the fortress, and poured into it red-hot shells, musketry, and cannon shot, until the 2d of October. On that day a sortie from the garrison destroyed a barricade of one hundred and fifty cotton bags; and soon after Santa Anna's plans were entirely deranged by a revolt of his troops. The siege, however, continued until October 12th, when General Lane joined the gallant Childs with large reinforcements.

This officer, in marching from Vera Cruz to Puebla, had overtaken a portion of Santa Anna's forces, in their retreat from the latter place. The first intimation of danger was from a party of guerillas, who were attacked near the San Juan river, and defeated. A small cavalry force was afterwards routed, and pursued until Lane had arrived near Huamantla. Here he received information that Santa Anna was there with four thousand men and six pieces of artillery. Leaving his train packed at the hacienda of Tamaris, he pushed forward for the city, having Captain Walker's mounted riflemen in advance. On nearing the place, Walker was sent forward, and on observing a number of horsemen crossing his path in different directions, he ordered a gallop, and entered the city. Finding about five hundred of the enemy drawn up in the plaza, he ordered a charge, when a hand to hand conflict took place, which

terminated in the defeat of the Mexicans. They lost two pieces of artillery, and were driven to a considerable distance; but during the struggle the gallant Walker was mortally wounded, and in a little time expired. The American infantry arriving soon after completed the victory.

After leaving a sufficient garrison at Puebla, General Lane pushed forward for Perote; and receiving information on the 18th, that General Rea was in command of a considerable force of the enemy at Atlisco, about thirty miles distant, he moved next morning for that place. When near Santa Isabella, he engaged a party of lancers, and a running fight commenced for four miles, when the main body of the enemy was observed on a side hill, behind thick chaparral. A fierce conflict then ensued, the men fighting on foot, hand to hand, until night. The Mexicans then retired to Atlisco.

Deeming it imprudent to enter an unknown city at night, in the face of the enemy, General Lane halted his men on a neighbouring hill and commenced a bombardment. The moon was beaming in her fullest lustre, and every object was plainly visible in her softening light. A bombardment at such a time must have been a splendid sight. The Americans served their guns with the utmost rapidity; and with the sullen roar of artillery was mingled the crashing of walls and roofs when struck by the shells. The guns being pointed to the most thickly settled parts of the town, the sufferings of the population were great.

After firing three-quarters of an hour, all resistance on the part of the Mexicans ceased, and the commands of Colonel Brough and Major Lally advanced cautiously into the town. On entering, General Lane was waited upon by the city council, desiring that the place might be spared. Next morning the Americans disposed of what arms and ammunition they found, and returned to Puebla. Their

loss was one killed, and one wounded; that of the enemy five hundred and nineteen, of whom two hundred and nineteen were killed.

About the middle of October, the naval forces of the United States captured Guaymas and Mazatlan.

On the 8th of February, Brigadier-General Price marched from New Mexico, where for some time he had been making civil and military arrangements for insuring tranquillity, and proceeded towards El Paso. After enduring great hardships upon the road, he reached this place on the 23d, and united himself with a reinforcement previously ordered there, for the purpose of enabling him to act against the state of Chihuahua. Here he received such information respecting the force and designs of the enemy, as induced him to abandon his original plan of operations, and by mounting his best troops upon horses, to advance by forced marches, and strike a blow at the enemy before they could be aware of it. Accordingly, on the night of the 26th, Major Walker was despatched with three companies, to occupy the town of Carrizal, ninety miles from El Paso, and commanding all the passes leading to Chihuahua. He took possession of the place without meeting any of the enemy, and succeeded in intercepting all their communication.

On the night of the 6th, when within sixty miles of Chihuahua, a small party of the advance came unexpectedly upon one of the enemy's pickets, which after some unimportant manœuvring, succeeded in escaping. This caused the American general to push forward his advance, so that on the following morning he arrived within six miles of the Sacramento. Here he was met by a flag of truce from the Mexican general, who protested against the advance of the troops upon Chihuahua, on the ground, that instructions had been received from the Mexican government, suspending hostilities, as a treaty of peace had been concluded by

commissioners of both governments. This information was subsequently confirmed, but disregarding it, General Price continued to advance upon the city of Chihuahua, which was soon after abandoned by the Mexican army.

Having anticipated this latter circumstance, Price had, on the previous day, detached Beall's dragoons, so that by a forced march over the mountains during the night, he might cut off the retreat. On the following morning [March 8th], he followed with a portion of his troops, and came up with the Mexicans early on the following morning. They were strongly posted at the town of Santa Cruz de Rosales, sixty miles from Chihuahua. Here General Price received from the commandant, General Trias, positive assurance of the conclusion of a peace, of which the Mexican officer expected official notification in three days. Still the American general deemed it consistent with the honour of his nation to besiege the place, which he did for several days. On the morning of the 16th, he commenced a heavy bombardment, attended with heavy loss of life and property to the enemy, and followed by partial assaults upon the works. So great was the effect, that shortly after sunset General Trias surrendered. Besides forty-two officers, and about six hundred privates, eleven cannon, nine wall-pieces, and five hundred and seventy-seven stand of arms, fell into the hands of the Americans. Price's loss was one lieutenant, two corporals, and one private killed, and nineteen privates wounded; the Mexican loss was several hundred.

The negotiations for peace between the two republics were at length successful. On the 2d of February, 1848, the treaty was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, between Nicholas P. Trist, commissioner on the part of the United States, and Senors Luis G. Cuevas, Bernardo Custo, and Miguel Atristain, commissioners on the part of Mexico. This instrument provided for the evacuation of Mexico by

the American forces, the release of prisoners, the cession of Alta California and New Mexico to the United States, in consideration of \$15,000,000, and the recognition of the Rio Grande as the western boundary of Texas, and for other matters of less importance. The treaty was modified and approved by the government of the United States, and then ratified by the Mexican government.

Immediate preparations were made for the evacuation of Mexico by the American forces. General Scott having been suspended from command on account of some difficulties with his officers, Major-General Butler had been appointed to succeed him. The latter superintended the evacuation of the conquered country. The greater part of the army reached New Orleans by the middle of June, 1848.

The results of the Mexican war may be briefly summed up as follows :—The national debt of the United States was increased over a hundred millions of dollars ; and the lives of a large number of gallant men were sacrificed. But a vast territory of immense value was acquired, the ability of the republic to carry on successfully an offensive war fully vindicated, and the general reputation and influence of the country abroad were greatly extended.

The administration had an arduous task during the progress of the war. It was impossible to give general satisfaction where opinions were so widely diverse. During a portion of the contest, the Whig opposition had a majority in the lower house of Congress, and its efforts tended to embarrass the administration. Supplies were voted with reluctance, and the whole conduct of the war was denounced as imbecile. Still the Democratic party rallied strongly to the support of the president.

The Oregon question, which had threatened to excite a war between Great Britain and the United States, was settled by treaty, in 1846, the 49th parallel of latitude

being agreed upon as a boundary line. This adjustment was a cause of congratulation on both sides of the Atlantic.

The measures of the Democratic party were fully carried out by President Polk. The tariff was considerably reduced, *ad valorem* being substituted for specific duties. The sub-treasury and the warehousing system were established. A territorial government was granted to Oregon—a proviso being appended that slavery should not be permitted to exist in that region. The application of this proviso—known as the Wilmot proviso—to other territories was afterwards a source of great excitement in the Union.

The territory of Alta California, which had been acquired by the United States by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, was soon shown to be a region of immense wealth.

Some mines of different metals had long been known to exist in California, and it had been conjectured that much mineral and metallic wealth would be discovered among its mountains. But few had any idea of the immense amount of the precious metals which slumbered in the gulches and streams of the Sierra Nevada. At length, accident developed what had so long been hidden.

The territory, while in the possession of Mexico, was in a neglected and unprofitable condition. The missions established by the Jesuits were the principal settlements, and converted Indians its only civilized inhabitants. With a view of inducing Mexican citizens to emigrate to the territory, the government exerted itself to destroy the power of the missions, and granted a certain quantity of land to each emigrant. Captain Sutter, by birth an adventurer, who had served as a lieutenant in the Swiss corps of Charles X., emigrated to California, and received a grant of land sixty miles in length by sixteen in width. The whole of this vast estate was overgrown with tall rank grass and a

few oaks or pines. It was situated on the borders of the Rio Americano, above the confluence of the Sacramento and San Joachim. Sutter conciliated the Indians, employed them to labour for him, built a strong fort, and, by extraordinary energy, made his estate into a principality.

In September, 1847, he erected a watermill, in a spot more than 1000 feet above the level of the lower valley. His friend, Mr. Marshall, was engaged in superintending an alteration in it; and Captain Sutter was sitting one afternoon in his own room writing. Suddenly, Marshall rushed in, with such excitement in his face, that his friend confesses to have cast an anxious eye at his rifle. His sudden appearance was sufficiently curious; but Sutter thought him mad, when he cried out that he had made a discovery which would pour into their coffers millions and millions of dollars, with little labour. "I frankly own," he says, "that when I heard this, I thought something had touched Marshall's brain, when suddenly all my misgivings were put an end to, by his flinging on the table a handful of scales of pure, virgin gold; I was fairly thunderstruck." It was explained that, while widening the channel, that had been made too narrow to allow the mill-wheel to work properly, a mass of sand and gravel was thrown up by the excavators. Glittering in this, Mr. Marshall noticed what he thought to be an opal—a clear, transparent stone, common in California. This was a scale of pure gold; and the first idea of the discoverer was, that some Indian tribe or ancient possessors of the land had buried a treasure. Examination, however, showed the whole soil to teem with the precious metal; and then mounting a horse, he rode down to carry the intelligence to his partner. To none but him did he tell the story of his discovery, and they too agreed to maintain secret the rich reward. Proceeding together to the spot, they picked up a quantity of the scales; and, with nothing but a small knife, Captain Sutter extracted

from a little hollow in the rock a solid mass of gold, weighing an ounce and a half. But the attempt to conceal this valuable revelation was not successful. An artful Kentuckian labourer, observing the eager looks of the two searchers, followed and imitated them, picking up several flakes of gold. Gradually the report spread, and as the would-be monopolists returned towards the mill, a crowd met them, holding out flakes of gold, and shouting with joy. Mr. Marshall sought to laugh them out of the idea, and pretended the metal was of little value; but an Indian, who had long worked elsewhere in a mine of the costly metal, cried, "Oro! oro!" and "Gold! gold!" was shouted in a lively chorus, by the delighted multitude.

The rumour was spread abroad, and the people of San Francisco began to leave the town and swarm to the "diggings." A large body of Mormon emigrants had just entered Alta California, through the south pass of the Rocky Mountains; they immediately encamped near Sutter's Mill, and, within a few days, more than 1200 men were at work, with buckets, baskets, shovels, spades, and sheets of canvass, seeking for gold in the sand of the south fork of the Rio de los Americanos. The first plan was to spread the sand on canvass, and blow away, with a reed, all but the gold. In the first impulse of a selfish heart, the discoverer sought to monopolize his knowledge; but as the dawn of every day revealed new stores of the metal, this feeling died away, for the wealth of the region seemed so great, that the cupidity of the world could not exhaust it.

Perhaps, in no other country, at any period of its history, has so sudden and wonderful a revolution occurred as that which followed the discovery of the gold on the American fork of the Sacramento. The news reached the states, and immediately attracted several currents of emigration, as well over the Rocky Mountains as by the sea. Ceaseless arrivals from all quarters of the globe swelled the popula-

tion. The few residents who remained in the coast towns made ample fortunes, by levying exorbitant sums for the entertainment and supply of travellers who came to the port. Vessels in the harbours were deserted; the harvest was at first unreaped, and the industry of the country suddenly stopped, as though struck by universal paralysis, while the flood of population poured into the valley of the Sacramento. It was ascertained that the gold region was about 600 miles in length, and between 100 and 150 in width.

Along the borders of the rivers, and in the ravines of the wild hilly country, camps were formed, and tents, bowers, mud huts, and rudely-erected sheds multiplied and covered the ground. Still, hundreds slept in the open air, and these hundreds swelled to thousands as each mail carried to the United States more glowing accounts of the gold.

The waters lying between the coast of California and the Isthmus, and further round Cape Horn to New York, were never before converted into such a crowded highway. Vessels were constantly passing to and fro, and all of them were peopled either by sanguine adventurers, with the hot fever of desire upon them, or disappointed men, who were returning remorsefully to their homes, moralizing in philosophic vein over the theory of the far-famed fable—that industry alone is the genius that possesses the power to turn all things to gold.

Within eighteen months, 100,000 men arrived in Alta California, from the United States, and many more from other parts of the world. The magnetic power of mammon was never so palpable. The towns on the coast were in a continual bustle. The population of San Francisco increased with a rapidity beyond all precedent.

The heterogenous society, suddenly formed in California, was in a state of confusion. Quarrels, outrages, and crimes became frequent, and Lynch law alone was found to act as

a preventive. Certain rights of property were recognised among the miners, the necessity of them being evident to every one. The old Mexican laws were continued in force in the towns, where order was more generally preserved. To add to the attractions of the country, mines of silver, quicksilver, and various minerals, were discovered.

The necessity of a more regular and permanent form of government being given to the territory, became apparent to the authorities; and Governor Riley issued a proclamation, calling a convention of delegates to Monterey, to frame a state constitution. By one of the provisions of this instrument, slavery was for ever excluded from California, and this it was which created the difficulties attending the admission of the state into the Union.

The influence of the gold discovery upon Oregon and the neighbouring territory was wonderful. The fertile soil of Oregon, its great rivers and fine harbours, attracted the attention of emigrants, and such has been the influx, that several important towns have been established, and are now in a flourishing condition. The sudden rise of California exercised an influence upon the vast region which lies between the most western states and the Rocky Mountains. The territory of Utah, in the vicinity of the lake of the same name, contains the city of the persecuted Mormons, and will soon be in a condition for admission into the Union. The Mormon city serves as a stopping-place for the overland emigrants to California and Oregon.

In November, 1848, the presidential election occurred. The candidates of the administration party were General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for president, and General William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for vice-president. The Whigs brought forward as candidates for the same offices, General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, and Millard Fillmore, of New York. A Northern anti-slavery party nominated Martin Van Buren and Charles F. Adams for the high

national offices, and they obtained a heavy vote. General Taylor and Millard Fillmore, were, however, successful.

Mr. Polk retired from office on the 3d of March, 1849. He was then in rather feeble health. Having purchased a beautiful residence in the heart of Nashville, he determined to pass the remainder of his days in the quiet of private life. But he was not spared very long. In June, 1849, the cholera desolated many parts of the valley of the Mississippi. Mr. Polk was seized with the disease, which terminated his life on the 15th of that month, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

Mr. Polk was of the ordinary stature, and rather thin. He had an intellectual forehead, sparkling blue eyes, and an earnest expression of countenance. He was simple in his manners, and his private life was blameless. Firm and decided in his opinions, fluent in their advocacy both with tongue and pen, he exerted a considerable influence upon the politics of the nation, and has left his name connected with some of the most momentous measures ever adopted by the government.



BATTLE OF SAN GABRIEL.

ZACHARY TAYLOR.

THE twelfth president of the United States was one who, previous to his election to the chief magistracy, had never held a civil office. Military operations had been the study of his youth and of his riper years; and he rose to fame and power, by the ever mighty influence of glorious achievements in the field. Still, the staff of office was not confided to him merely as a war-worn veteran's reward, but with the hope that the qualities the general had displayed through many trying scenes, would work beneficially amid the corruptions of politics at Washington.

The ancestors of General TAYLOR emigrated from England nearly two centuries ago, and settled in the eastern part of Virginia. His father, Richard Taylor, was born in that state, where he resided until about 1790. Zachary was his second son, and was born in November, 1784, in Orange county, Virginia; he is therefore a native of the same state which gave birth to Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Harrison, and many other illustrious Americans. Besides Zachary, his father had four sons, Hancock, George, William, and Joseph, and three daughters, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Emily.

Richard Taylor seems to have possessed a full share of the restless spirit of active adventure which distinguished the first settlers of America. Accordingly, in a little while after Boone had explored Kentucky, we find him journeying to that wilderness. Here he was not only unappalled



by the horrors of a country called by the natives the dark and bloody ground, and by his hair-breadth escapes from the Indians, but he actually formed the design of penetrating to New Orleans on foot. This he accomplished alone, through the forests and wilderness stretching along the Mississippi, and returned by ship to Virginia. When the revolution broke out, the courage and zeal which he had manifested in resisting the encroachments of the mother country, caused him to receive an appointment as colonel in the Continental army, the duties of which office he performed in a manner that fulfilled the high hopes which had been entertained of him. He fought in several of the most important battles of the north, and among others, with Washington at Trenton. At the close of the war he retired to his farm in Virginia, where he remained until about the year 1790, when he emigrated with his family to Kentucky. In this journey he was accompanied by Colonels Croghan and Bullitt, both of which names became afterwards famous in the annals of their state. They settled upon a spot* noted for the long and peculiarly bloody wars of the Indians, and these brave men soon found an ample field in which to display their courage and hardihood. In the burnings and scalpings which happened almost weekly, Colonel Taylor so distinguished himself that he was soon looked upon as the champion of the white settlers, and the bulwark of their village. After a long time the attacks of the savages became less frequent, and the population had shaken off their fear at the Indian name, and began to assume the appearance of a regular community. Still the usefulness of Colonel Taylor did not cease with the causes which had drawn it forth. He became as distinguished a citizen as

* The colonel's farm adjoined that of Colonel Croghan's father, well known as Locust Grove; and the warmest friendship existed between the two families, arising not only from ties of relationship, but from congenial feelings and habits.

he had formerly been a soldier, and was intrusted with the duties of several very important and responsible stations. He was one of the framers of the constitution of Kentucky; represented Jefferson county and Louisville city for many years in both branches of the state legislature, and was a member of the electoral colleges which voted for Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Clay.

Such are a few points in the history of a man whose name will ever be dear to the American people, as the father of the conqueror of Mexico. All allow him to have been of unflinching perseverance, indomitable courage, and zeal and ability to perform the duties of the various offices and stations which he was called to fill.

Under the parentage of such a man it is nothing singular that young Zachary should early have imbibed a taste for military life. We are told that such was the case; and the common occurrences which daily surrounded him tended to foster this feeling. His nursery tales were stories of Indian butchery which had but recently been perpetrated upon the neighbours of his parents; and as he grew larger, he often heard the shriek of the maiden and innocent, the sharp crack of the rifle that announced their death, and then the fierce conflict between the father and his savage foe. He learned to barricade his own door, and spend the night in watchful intensity, while looking out upon nothing but gloomy forests, and some burning cottage far in the distance.

At the age of six years Zachary was placed at school, under the direction of a Mr. Ayers. Even here he was in continual danger of the tomahawk, and many of the larger scholars were obliged to go armed. While here, young Zachary became distinguished among his companions for his activity, decision and bluntness of character, modesty of demeanour, and general intelligence. These are shining qualities in a school-boy, and he soon become the acknow-

ledged and general favourite of a large portion of his comrades. From a child, his mind possessed a keen relish for military narratives, and in youth he began to long for an opportunity to display himself in the field. There still remain of him many anecdotes, all tending to illustrate his fondness for activity and adventure.

The schoolmaster of General Taylor is still living in the town of Preston, near Norwich, Connecticut, where he was born. Though more than seventy years of age, he takes great pleasure in listening to the achievements of his pupil, and in recounting anecdotes of him when a school-boy. He represents him to have been an excellent scholar, possessing an active and inquisitive mind, studious in his habits, though of sanguine temperament, quick of apprehension, and promising fair for a career of usefulness in life. He had mental qualities of thoughtfulness, judgment, shrewdness, and stability, not often found united in youth. But a peculiar trait of his character, and one not often connected with a sanguine temperament, was firmness. This, united with the above-named qualities, is an important characteristic in a soldier. Upon many occasions, sudden and warm impulses, when properly directed by judgment and firmness, have produced grand achievements; and though a man may be brave to an eminent degree, yet a phlegmatic temperament is calculated to restrain the exercise of his bravery at a time when it might lead to glorious results.

Upon leaving school, young Taylor continued the exercise of those sports and labours which suited the ardour of his temperament. He often performed feats of strength and difficulty which would excite the wonder and applause of friends, and rivalry of others. His fondness for military life has been mentioned, and it is related that even before he commenced a course of rigid tactical instruction, he might often be seen with his comrades practising the differ-

ent evolutions of a company-drill, with as much gravity and emulation as though under orders before an enemy.

An opportunity was not long wanting for the exercise of the talent thus gradually developing. The difficulties between the United States and England, relative to interruptions of our commerce and the impressment of seamen, now presented so alarming an aspect, that an early rupture was confidently anticipated. This was an excellent opportunity for many of the wild young spirits of the west to wreak their vengeance against an enemy, who, though respected in time of peace, was the object of bitter animosity in war. Volunteer companies were organized in every part of the Union, and the "citizen soldiery" became an object of great national importance.

While these events were in progress, the whole country was electrified by the intelligence that a British armed vessel, the *Leopard*, had fired into the American frigate *Chesapeake*, killing three of her men, wounding eighteen, and subsequently carrying away four others of her crew. This increased the popular indignation against Great Britain as well as the spirit of determined resistance to her attacks.

Upon reception of the news of this affair, young Taylor applied for a commission in the army, and was appointed by President Jefferson a first lieutenant in the 7th regiment of infantry. This step was highly pleasing to his father, who had been instrumental in its accomplishment.

Meanwhile, the difficulties between the two countries daily increased, and in June, 1812, war was declared by the government of the United States. The commencement of the contest was disastrous for the Americans. General Hull surrendered the whole north-western army at Detroit, and exposed the frontier to the savage incursions of the British and Indians. But General Harrison was now appointed commander-in-chief in the west, a new army was

raised, and preparations were made to offer an effectual resistance to the enemy.

Small forts were scattered around in various directions, and the defence of these was intrusted only to those in whom General Harrison had the most perfect confidence. One of these was a small and weak stockade fort, called, in honour of the commanding general, Fort Harrison. It was situated on the Wabash river, in Indiana, the very heart of the Indian country, and had for some time been threatened by the Miami and other large tribes. The selection of a commander for this station was a subject of considerable importance, but it at length devolved upon Captain Taylor. In this appointment the general was no doubt influenced by the success of Taylor in his many previous skirmishes with the Indians, for which he had been advanced from the rank of lieutenant to that of captain. This was under Governor Shelby, previous to the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain.

Upon assuming the command of Fort Harrison, Taylor not only found the works in a miserable condition, but also that, of the small garrison of fifty men, all excepting about twenty were disabled by sickness. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, he set himself earnestly to work in order to render the fort defensible. The principal defences consisted of an upper and lower block-house, and a fort with two bastions. These he strengthened by other small fortifications, and especially by judicious arrangements of his fire arms, and took every measure to supply his men with ample provisions of food and ammunition, and to inspire them with confidence in themselves.

The first indications of an attack were manifested on Thursday the 3d of September. A delegation from the Miami Indians then informed the captain that the "Prophet," brother of Tecumseh, was advancing with his party toward the fort, and that the Miamis were about to

retire from that region. On the same evening two young citizens were making hay at the distance of about four hundred yards from the fort. Soon after retreat beating, four guns were heard in that direction, and the garrison were immediately impressed with the belief that the men had been surprised and murdered by the Indians. On account of the lateness of the hour it was not thought prudent to search for them then, and their non-appearance after a long and anxious watch convinced the captain that his suspicions of their fate were correct. Nothing further transpired that night, and the next morning at eight o'clock a corporal with a small party was detached to investigate the result of the firing, if it could be done without too much risk of being drawn into an ambuscade. The corporal soon sent a messenger back to the fort, informing the commander that he had found the two dead bodies, and requesting further orders. A cart and oxen were sent out, and the murdered men brought to the fort. Each had been shot with two balls, scalped, and horribly mangled. They were buried within the fort. This circumstance caused the garrison to redouble their vigilance. Additional sentinels were posted, and the officers of the guard directed to walk the round all night, in order to prevent, if possible, a surprise.

Late on the evening of the 4th, an old man named Joseph Lenar, with between thirty and forty Indians, arrived from the Prophet's town with a white flag. Among these were ten women, and the men were the chiefs from the different tribes composing the Prophet's party. The object of this mission, as stated by a Shawnee who spoke English, was to obtain another interview on the following morning, and to buy provisions. There could be no doubt, however, that their true object was to spy the strength of the garrison, and throw them off their guard. Accordingly, after retreat beating, the men's arms were

examined, and their cartridges completed to sixteen rounds per man. So miserable, however, was the health of the soldiers, that the captain despaired of a successful defence in case of an attack from a large force—even his small guard of six privates and two non-commissioned officers were not able to do service every day.

Soon after the departure of the Indians the captain was obliged to retire to rest in consequence of debility from a late violent attack of fever. His sleep was short. Before retiring he had cautioned the guard to be vigilant, and take every precaution to prevent surprise, and at eleven o'clock he was awakened by a shot from one of the sentinels. He immediately arose, and ordered each man to his post. At this moment the orderly sergeant having charge of the upper block-house, called out that a body of Indians had fired the lower one. Under cover of the night they had accomplished this, unseen by the garrison, and they now opened a pretty active fire, which was returned by the Americans. The cry of *fire* threw the whole fort into confusion; the soldiers gave up all for lost, when they saw the flames communicate with a quantity of whiskey in the block-house, and rush up in wide sheets toward the barracks, which made part of the fortifications. Some women and children who were in the fort ran among the garrison, imploring for succour, and filling the air with their lamentations. This, with the howlings of hundreds of Indians, rendered that night-scene one sufficient to appal the stoutest heart. But amid all this uproar one man remained cool and determined,—that man was the young commander of the fort, and to his self-possession was owing the safety of the garrison. Immediately on perceiving the flames, he ordered water to be brought from the well in buckets, but in consequence of debility and the influence of terror upon the soldiers, these orders were but languidly executed. He then informed the men that their only

means of safety was to keep the end of the fortification nearest the block-house continually wet, that by so doing not only might the whole row of buildings be saved, but an opening of only eighteen or twenty feet left for the Indians to enter after the house was consumed, and, that even here their entrance might be prevented by the erection of a temporary breastwork. The chance of escape from imminent danger inspired the men with a firmness bordering on desperation. Under the direction of Dr. Clark those who were able, mounted the tops of the houses amid a shower of balls, and in a very short time had thrown off the greater part of the roof nearest to the burning building. This was done with the loss of but one man killed and two wounded. During this time two of the men leaped from the pickets and ran toward the enemy. Their cowardice was but ill rewarded,—one of them was killed, and the other returned before day to the gate, where he begged “for God’s sake” to be admitted. Not being recognised, his attempt was supposed to be a stratagem of the Indians to gain admittance into the fort, and he was fired upon. The shot not taking effect, he ran round to the other bastion, where his voice was recognised, and he was directed by Dr. Clark to lie down close to the pickets behind an empty barrel. He there remained until daylight, when he was admitted. His arm was broken in a shocking manner, and he was otherwise greatly mangled.

While a part of the garrison were thus demolishing the roof, the men below were using every exertion to prevent the destruction of the barracks. They were several times on fire, and extinguished only by the most active efforts. During the whole time, and while labouring at their breastwork, the men were exposed to a heavy fire from the Indians, as well as to a shower of arrows which rained around them in great quantities. Before morning the

work was advanced to the height of a man, with the loss of but one soldier killed.

The approach of daylight enabled the Americans to aim with more precision and success, and at six o'clock their fire had become so destructive as to cause the Indians to remove from the reach of their guns. At this disappointment of their expected booty, the savages became furious; and driving up the horses and a number of hogs belonging to the citizens, they shot them in front of the fort. They also seized all the cattle belonging to private individuals, amounting to sixty-five head, together with the oxen, which were public property.

As the enemy continued in sight that day, the American commander was busily occupied in repairing the damages of the fort. The vacancy caused by the burning of the block-house was filled up by a strong row of pickets, obtained by demolishing the guard-house. The other defences were also strengthened, and provision made against a second attempt to fire the buildings.

The Indians, however, had been so severely handled that they did not consider it advisable to renew the attack. They continued within sight until the morning of the 6th, when the garrison were relieved of their presence. The loss of the Indians had been heavy, but as they were very numerous, each dead body was carried from the field. Notwithstanding the apparent friendliness of the Miamis on the evening of the assault, there is little doubt but that the whole of their tribe was among the Prophet's party.

After the attack the garrison were obliged to subsist upon a scanty supply of green corn, all their provisions having been intercepted or destroyed by the enemy. Captain Taylor used great exertions to forward despatches to General Harrison, but as every road was guarded by strong parties of Indians, his messengers were obliged to return.

The following letter will convey some idea of the difficulties under which he laboured.

“Fort Harrison, Sept. 13th, 1812.

“DEAR SIR :

“I wrote to you on the 10th instant, giving you an account of an attack on this place, as well as my situation, which account I attempted to send by water; but the two men whom I despatched in a canoe after night found the river so well guarded that they were obliged to return. The Indians had built a fire on the bank of the river a short distance below the garrison, which gave them an opportunity of seeing any craft that might attempt to pass, and were waiting with a canoe ready to intercept it. I expect the fort as well as the road to Vincennes is as well or better watched than the river. But my situation compels me to make one other attempt by land, and my orderly sergeant and one other man set out to-night, with strict orders to avoid the road in the day-time, and depend entirely on the woods, although neither of them have ever been in Vincennes by land, nor do they know anything of the country; but I am in hopes that they will reach you in safety. I send them with great reluctance, from their ignorance of the woods. I think it very probable there is a large party of Indians waylaying the road between this and Vincennes, likely about the Narrows, for the purpose of intercepting any party that may be coming to this place, as the cattle they got here will supply them plentifully with provisions for some time to come.

“Please, &c.,

“Z. TAYLOR.”

“His excellency, Governor Harrison.”

At the time of the writing of this letter Colonel Russell was within fifteen miles of Fort Harrison, with a reinforce-

ment of 600 mounted rangers, and 500 infantry. He arrived on the 16th, to the utter surprise of Captain Taylor, who had not heard of even his approach. Some time after the garrison was further reinforced by about 4000 men under Major-General Hopkins.

On the 11th of November the army left Fort Harrison on an expedition to the Prophet's town, which they reached on the 19th. They destroyed the town, which consisted of about forty huts, and the Kickapoo village of one hundred and sixty, together with all the standing corn. They also reconnoitred the surrounding country, and constructed several works of defence. In every operation Captain Taylor took an efficient part, and we find him mentioned in the despatches of Hopkins as an "officer who had rendered "prompt and effectual support in every instance."

On his return from this expedition Taylor found a package for him from the seat of government. This, on being opened, was discovered to contain a commission from President Madison, conferring on him the rank of brevet major, as a reward for his gallant defence of Fort Harrison, of which it bore the date. This is said to have been the first brevet ever conferred in the American army.

Major Taylor continued actively engaged in the war of 1812 until its close, although in consequence of his not being intrusted with any other separate command it is difficult to trace his progress. The skill and bravery, however, which he displayed in the defence of Fort Harrison, inspired both his comrades and the country with confidence in his superior abilities as an officer; and indeed such a defence under the trying difficulties of desertion, conflagration, and a savage foe, to whose numbers his own were but a handful, was sufficient to establish his reputation as a soldier of sterling qualities.

Early in life, General Taylor married a Virginia lady of a highly respectable family, distantly related to his own.

The union was a happy one, and was blessed with five children.

Major Taylor performed an important part in the famous "Black Hawk War," upon the north-western frontier, in 1831. The following anecdote is related of him, the incidents of which happened during this period.

Some time after Stillman's defeat by Black Hawk's band, Taylor, marching with a large body of volunteers and a handful of regulars in pursuit of the hostile Indian force, found himself approaching Rock river, then asserted by many to be the true north-western boundary of the state of Illinois. The volunteers, as Taylor was informed, would refuse to cross the stream. They were militia, they said, called out for the defence of the state, and it was unconstitutional to order them to march beyond its frontier into the Indian country. Taylor thereupon halted his command, and encamped within the acknowledged boundaries of Illinois. He would not, as the relater of the story said, budge an inch further without orders. He had already driven Black Hawk out of the state, but the question of crossing Rock river seems hugely to trouble his ideas of integrity to the constitution on one side, and military expediency on the other. During the night, however, orders came, either from General Scott or General Atkinson, for him to follow up Black Hawk to the last. The quietness of the regular colonel meanwhile had rather encouraged the mutinous militia to bring their proceedings to a head. A sort of town meeting was called upon the prairie, and Taylor invited to attend. After listening for some time very quietly to the proceedings, it became his turn to address the chair. "He had heard," he said, "with much pleasure the views which several speakers had expressed of the independence and dignity of each private American citizen. He felt that all gentlemen there present were his equals—in reality, he was persuaded that many of them would in a few years be

his superiors, and perhaps, in the capacity of members of Congress, arbiters of the fortune and reputation of humble servants of the republic like himself. He expected then to obey them as interpreters of the will of the people; and the best proof he could give that he would obey them, was now to observe the orders of those whom the people had already put in the places of authority, to which many gentlemen around him justly aspired. In plain English, gentlemen and fellow-citizens, the word has been passed on to me from Washington to follow Black Hawk, and to take you with me as soldiers. I mean to do both. There are the flat boats drawn up on the shore, and here are Uncle Sam's men drawn up behind you on the prairie."

Taylor, as is well known, did follow Black Hawk through the prairies of northern Illinois, through the wooded gorges, the rocky fells, the plashy rice pools, the hitherto unbroken wilderness of western Wisconsin. The militia-men gave out from day to day; the country became impassable to horses, and the volunteer settlers, who had first seized arms merely to repel an Indian foray, refused to submit their backs to the necessary burdens in carrying their own supplies through the deep swamps and almost impervious forests. At last, the very Indians themselves, whom Taylor thus desperately pursued from day to day, and week to week, began to sink from fatigue and exhaustion: they were found by our men stretched beside their trails, while Taylor's band held out amid sufferings, in the wilderness, which the child of the forest himself could not endure. The battle of the Bad-Axe, and the rout of Black Hawk, by Taylor, at length terminated this arduous march.

In 1832 Taylor was advanced to the rank of colonel. On the commencement of war in Florida he was ordered on service in that district. This contest was, as every one knows, what General Jackson called his own Seminole war, "a war of movements." It consisted almost entirely of

pursuits and attempts to surround the Indians, which they were generally successful in eluding.

Colonel Taylor, however, was more fortunate than his predecessors; and in December, 1837, he was able to bring on a general action at Okee Chobee, which is best described in his own very able despatch, as follows :

HEAD-QUARTERS, FIRST BRIGADE,
ARMY SOUTH OF THE WITHLACOOCHIEE, }
Fort Gardner, Jan. 4, 1838,

SIR : On the 19th ultimo I received at this place a communication from Major-General Jessup, informing me that all hopes of bringing the war to a close by negotiation, through the interference or mediation of the Cherokee delegation, were at an end, Sam Jones, with the Mickasukies, having determined to fight it out to the last; and directing me to proceed with the least possible delay against any portion of the enemy I might hear of within striking distance, and to destroy or capture them.

After leaving two officers and an adequate force for the protection of my depot, I marched the next morning with twelve days' rations (my means of transportation not enabling me to carry more), with the balance of my command, consisting of Captain Munroe's company of the 4th artillery, total, 35 men; the 1st infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Davenport, 197 strong; the 4th infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, 274; the 6th infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, 221; the Missouri volunteers, 180; Morgan's spies, 47; pioneers, 30; pontoneers, 13; and 70 Delaware Indians; making a force, exclusive of officers, of 1032 men; the greater part of the Shawnees having been detached, and the balance refusing to accompany me, under the pretext that a number of them were sick, and the remainder were without moccasins.

I moved down the west side of the Kissimmee, in a south-easterly course, towards Lake Istopoga, for the following reasons: First, because I knew that a portion of the hostiles were to be found in that direction; second, if General Jessup should fall in with the Mickasukies and drive them, they might attempt to elude him by crossing the Kissimmee from the east to the west side of the peninsula, between this and its entrance into Okee Chobee, in which case I might be near at hand to intercept them; third, to overawe and induce such of the enemy who had been making propositions to give themselves up, and who appeared very slow, if not to hesitate, in complying with their promises on that head, to surrender at once; and lastly, I deemed it advisable to erect block-houses, and a small picket work on the Kissimmee, for a third depot, some forty or fifty miles below this, and obtain a knowledge of the intervening country, as I had no guide who could be relied on, and by this means open a communication with Colonel Smith, who was operating up the Caloosehatchee, or Sanybel river, under my orders.

Late in the evening of the first day's march, I met the Indian chief, Jumper, with his family, and a part of his band, consisting of fifteen men, a part of them with families, and a few negroes—in all, sixty-three souls—on his way to give himself up, in conformity to a previous arrangement I had entered into with him. They were conducted by Captain Parks, and a few Shawnees. He (Parks) is an active and intelligent half-breed, who is at the head of the friendly Indians, both Shawnees and Delawares, and whom I had employed to arrange and bring in Jumper, and as many of his people as he could prevail on to come in. We encamped that night near the same spot; and the next morning, having ordered Captain Parks to join me, and take command of the Delawares, and having despatched Jumper in charge of some Shawnees to this place, and so on to Fort

Frazer, I continued my march, after having sent forward three friendly Seminoles to gain intelligence as to the position of the enemy.

About noon on the same day, I sent forward one battalion of Gentry's regiment under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Price, to pick up any stragglers that might fall in his way; to encamp two or three miles in advance of the main force; to act with great circumspection, and to communicate promptly any occurrence that might take place in his vicinity important for me to know. About 10 P. M., I received a note from the colonel, stating that the three Seminoles sent forward in the morning had returned; that they had been at or where Alligator had encamped, twelve or fifteen miles in his advance; that he (Alligator) had left there with a part of his family four days before, under the pretext of separating his relations, &c., from the Mickasukies, preparatory to his surrendering with them; that there were several families remaining at the camp referred to, who wished to give themselves up, and would remain there until we took possession of them, unless they were forcibly carried off that night by the Mickasukies, who were encamped at no great distance from them.

In consequence of this intelligence, after directing Lieutenant-Colonel Davenport to follow me early in the morning with the infantry, a little after midnight I put myself at the head of the residue of the mounted men, joined Lieutenant-Colonel Price, proceeded on, crossing Istopoga outlet, and soon after daylight took possession of the encampment referred to, where I found the inmates, who had not been disturbed. They consisted of an old man and two young ones, and several women and children, amounting in all to twenty-two individuals. The old man informed me that Alligator was very anxious to separate his people from the Mickasukies, who were encamped on the opposite side of the Kissimmee, distant about twenty miles, where they would

fight us. I sent him to Alligator, to say to him, if he was sincere in his professions, to meet me the next day at the Kissimmee, where the trail I was marching on crossed, and where I should halt.

As soon as the infantry came up, I moved on to the place designated, which I reached late that evening, and where I encamped. About 11 P. M., the old Indian returned, bringing a very equivocal message from Alligator, whom, he stated, he had met accidentally. Also, that the Mickasukies were still encamped where they had been for some days, and where they were determined to fight us.

I determined at once on indulging them as soon as practicable. Accordingly, the next morning, after laying out a small stockade work for the protection of a future depot, in order to enable me to move with the greatest celerity, I deposited the whole of my heavy baggage, including artillery, &c., and having provisioned the command, to include the 26th, after leaving Captain Munroe with his company, the pioneer, pontoneers, with eighty-five sick and disabled infantry, and a portion of the friendly Indians, who alleged that they were unable to march further, crossed the Kissimmee, taking the old Indian as a guide who had been captured the day before, and who accompanied us with great apparent reluctance in pursuit of the enemy, and early the next day reached Alligator's encampment, situated on the edge of Cabbage-tree hammock, in the midst of a large prairie; from the appearance of which, and other encampments in the vicinity, and the many evidences of slaughtered cattle, there must have been several hundred individuals.

At another small hammock at no great distance from Alligator's encampment, and surrounded by a swamp, impassable for mounted men, the spies surprised an encampment containing one old man, four young men, and some women and children. One of the party immediately

raised a white flag, when the men were taken possession of and brought across the swamp to the main body. I proceeded with an interpreter to meet them. They proved to be Seminoles, and professed to be friendly. They stated that they were preparing to come in; they had just slaughtered a number of cattle, and were employed in drying and jerking the same. They also informed me that the Mickasukies, headed by A-vi-a-ka (Sam Jones), were some ten or twelve miles distant, encamped in a swamp, and were prepared to fight.

Although I placed but little confidence in their professions of friendship, or their intentions of coming in, yet I had no time to look up their women and children, who had fled and concealed themselves in the swamp, or to have encumbered myself with them in the situation in which I then was.

Accordingly, I released the old man, who promised that he would collect all the women and children, and take them in to Captain Munroe, at the Kissimmee, the next day. I also dismissed the old man who had acted as guide thus far, supplying his place with the four able warriors who had been captured that morning.

These arrangements being made, I moved under their guidance for the camp of the Mickasukies. Between two and three, P. M., we reached a very dense cypress swamp, through which we were compelled to pass, and in which our guides informed us we might be attacked. After making the necessary dispositions for battle, it was ascertained that there was no enemy to oppose us. The army crossed over and encamped for the night, it being late. During the passage of the rear, Captain Parks, who was in advance with a few friendly Indians, fell in with two of the enemy's spies, between two or three miles of our camp—one on horseback, the other on foot—and succeeded in capturing the latter. He was an active young warrior,

armed with an excellent rifle, fifty balls in his pouch, and an adequate proportion of powder. This Indian confirmed the information which had previously been received from the other Indians, and in addition stated that a large body of the Seminoles, headed by John Cohua, Co-a-coo-chee, and, no doubt, Alligator, with other chiefs, were encamped five or six miles from us, near the Mickasukies, with a cypress swamp and dense hammock between them and the latter.

The army moved forward at daylight the next morning, and, after marching five or six miles, reached the camp of the Seminoles on the borders of another cypress swamp, which must have contained several hundred, and bore evident traces of having been abandoned in a great hurry, as the fires were still burning, and quantities of beef lying on the ground unconsumed.

Here the troops were again disposed of in order of battle, but we found no enemy to oppose us, and the command was crossed over about 11 A. M., when we entered a large prairie in our front, on which two or three hundred head of cattle were grazing, and a number of Indian ponies. Here another young Indian warrior was captured, armed and equipped as the former. He pointed out a dense hammock on our right, about a mile distant, in which he said the hostiles were situated and waiting to give us battle.

At this place the final disposition was made to attack them, which was in two lines; the volunteers under Gentry, and Morgan's spies, to form the first line in extended order, who were instructed to enter the hammock, and in the event of being attacked and hard pressed, were to fall back in rear of the regular troops, out of reach of the enemy's fire; the second line was composed of the 4th and 6th infantry, who were instructed to sustain the volunteers, the 1st infantry being held in reserve.

Moving on in the direction of the hammock, after pro-

ceeding about a quarter of a mile, we reached the swamp which separated us from the enemy, three-quarters of a mile in breadth, being totally impassable for horse, and nearly so for foot, covered with a thick growth of saw-grass five feet high, about knee deep in mud and water, which extended to the left as far as the eye could reach, and to the right to a part of the swamp and hammock we had just crossed, through which ran a deep creek. At the edge of the swamp all the men were dismounted, and the horses and baggage left under a suitable guard. Captain Allen was detached with the two companies of mounted infantry to examine the swamp and hammock to the right; and, in case he should not find the enemy in that direction, was to return to the baggage, and, in the event of his hearing a heavy firing was immediately to join me.

After making these arrangements, I crossed the swamp in the order stated. On reaching the borders of the hammock, the volunteers and spies received a heavy fire from the enemy, which was returned by them for a short time, when their gallant commander, Colonel Gentry, fell, mortally wounded. They mostly broke, and instead of forming in the rear of the regulars, as had been directed, they retired across the swamp to their baggage and horses, nor could they be again brought into action as a body, although efforts were made repeatedly by my staff to induce them to do so.

The enemy, however, were promptly checked and driven back by the 4th and 6th infantry, which in truth might be said to be a moving battery. The weight of the enemy's fire was principally concentrated on five companies of the 6th infantry, which not only stood firm, but continued to advance until their gallant commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, and his adjutant, Lieutenant Center, were killed; and every officer, with one exception, as well as most of the non-commissioned officers, including the ser-

geant-major and four of the orderly sergeants, killed and wounded of those companies; when that portion of the regiment retired to a short distance and were again formed, one of these companies having but four members left untouched.

Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, with six companies, amounting in all to one hundred and sixty men, gained the hammock in good order, where he was joined by Captain Noel, with the two remaining companies of the 6th infantry, and Captain Gillam, of Gentry's volunteers, with a few additional men, and continued to drive the enemy for a considerable time, and by a change of front separated his line, and continued to drive him until he reached the great lake Okee Chobee, which was in the rear of the enemy's position, and on which their encampment extended for more than a mile. As soon as I was informed that Captain Allen was advancing, I ordered the first infantry to move to the left, gain the enemy's right flank and turn it, which order was executed in the promptest manner possible; and as soon as that regiment got in position, the enemy gave one fire and retreated, being pursued by the 1st, 4th, and 6th, and some of the volunteers who had joined them, until near night, and until these troops were nearly exhausted, and the enemy driven in all directions.

The action was a severe one, and continued from half-past twelve, until after three P. M., a part of the time very close and severe. We suffered much, having twenty-six killed and one hundred and twelve wounded, among whom are some of our most valuable officers. The hostiles probably suffered, all things considered, equally with ourselves, they having left ten dead on the ground, besides, doubtless, carrying off many more, as is customary with them when practicable.

As soon as the enemy were completely broken, I turned my attention to taking care of the wounded, to facilitate

their removal to my baggage, where I ordered an encampment to be formed; I directed Captain Taylor to cross over to the spot, and employ every individual whom he might find there in constructing a small footway across the swamp; this, with great exertions, was completed in a short time after dark, when all the dead and wounded were carried over in litters made for that purpose, with one exception a private of the 4th infantry, who was killed and could not be found.

And here, I trust I may be permitted to say that I experienced one of the most trying scenes of my life, and he who could have looked on it with indifference, his nerves must have been very differently organized from my own; besides the killed, there lay one hundred and twelve wounded officers and soldiers, who had accompanied me one hundred and forty-five miles, most of the way through an unexplored wilderness, without guides, who had so gallantly beaten the enemy, under my orders, in his strongest position, and who had to be conveyed back through swamps and hammocks, from whence we set out, without any apparent means of doing so. This service, however, was encountered and overcome, and they have been conveyed thus far, and proceeded on to Tampa Bay, on rude litters, constructed with the axe and knife alone, with poles and dry hides—the latter being found in great abundance at the encampment of the hostiles. The litters were conveyed on the backs of our weak and tottering horses, aided by the residue of the command, with more ease and comfort to the sufferers than I could have supposed, and with as much as they could have been in ambulances of the most improved and modern construction.

The day after the battle we remained at our encampment, occupied in taking care of the wounded, and in the sad office of interring the dead; also, in preparing litters for the removal of the wounded, and collecting with a portion

of the mounted men the horses and cattle in the vicinity belonging to the enemy, of which we found about one hundred of the former, many of them saddled, and nearly three hundred of the latter.

We left our encampment on the morning of the 27th for the Kissinnee, where I had left my heavy baggage, which place we reached about noon on the 28th, after leaving two companies and a few Indians to garrison the stockade, which I found nearly completed on my return, by that active and vigilant officer, Captain Munroe, 4th artillery. I left there the next morning for this place, where I arrived on the 31st, and sent forward the wounded next day to Tampa Bay, with the 4th and 6th infantry, the former to halt at Fort Frazer, remaining here myself with the 1st, in order to make preparations to take the field again as soon as my horses can be recruited, most of which have been sent to Tampa, and my supplies in a sufficient state of forwardness to justify the measure.

In speaking of the command, I can only say, that so far as the regular troops are concerned, no one could have been more efficiently sustained than I have been from the commencement of the campaign; and I am certain that they will always be willing and ready to discharge any duty that may be assigned them.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Davenport, and the officers and soldiers of the 1st infantry, I feel under many obligations for the manner in which they have on all occasions, discharged their duty; and although held in reserve and not brought into battle until near its close, it evinced, by its eagerness to engage, and the promptness and good order with which they entered the hammock when the order was given for them to do so, is the best evidence that they would have sustained their own characters, as well as that of the regiment, had it been their fortune to have been placed in the hottest of the battle.

The 4th infantry, under their gallant leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, was among the first to gain the hammock, and maintained this position, as well as driving a portion of the enemy before him, until he arrived on the borders of Lake Okee Chobee, which was in the rear, and continued the pursuit until near night. Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, who was favourably noticed for his gallantry and good conduct in nearly all the engagements on the Niagara frontier during the late war with Great Britain, by his several commanders, as well as in the different engagements with the Indians in this territory, never acted a more conspicuous part than in the action of the 25th ult.; he speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of Brevet-Major Graham, his second in command, as also the officers and soldiers of the 4th infantry, who were engaged in the action. Captain Allen, with his two mounted companies of the 4th infantry, sustained his usual character for promptness and efficiency. Lieutenant Hooper, of the 4th regiment, was wounded through the arm, but continued on the field at the head of his company, until the termination of the battle.

I am not sufficiently master of words to express my admiration of the gallantry and steadiness of the officers and soldiers of the 6th regiment of infantry. It was their fortune to bear the brunt of the battle. The report of the killed and wounded, which accompanies this, is more conclusive evidence of their merits than anything I can say. After five companies of this regiment, against which the enemy directed the most deadly fire, were nearly cut up, there being only four men left uninjured in one of them, and every officer and orderly sergeant of those companies, with one exception, were either killed or wounded, Captain Noel, with the remaining two companies, his own company, "K," and Crossman's, "B," commanded by Second Lieutenant Woods, which was the left of the regiment, formed on

the right of the 4th infantry, entered the hammock with that regiment, and continued the fight and the pursuit until its termination. It is due to Captain Andrews and Lieutenant Walker, to say, they commanded two of the five companies mentioned above, and they continued to direct them until they were both severely wounded and carried from the field; the latter received three separate balls.

The Missouri volunteers, under the command of Colonel Gentry, and Morgan's spies, who formed the first line, and, of course, were the first engaged, acted as well, or even better, than troops of that description generally do; they received and returned the enemy's fire, with spirit, for some time, when they broke and retired, with the exception of Captain Gillam and a few of his company, and Lieutenant Blakey, also with a few men, who joined the regulars, and acted with them, until after the close of the battle, but not until they had suffered severely; the commanding officer of the volunteers, Colonel Gentry, being mortally wounded while leading on his men, and encouraging them to enter the hammock, and come to close quarters with the enemy; his son, an interesting youth, eighteen or nineteen years of age, sergeant-major of the regiment, was severely wounded at the same moment.

Captain Childs, Lieutenants Rogers and Flanagan, of Gentry's regiment, Acting Major Sconce, and Lieutenants Hase and Gordon, of the spies, were wounded while encouraging their men to a discharge of their duty.

The volunteers and spies having, as before stated, fallen back to the baggage, could not again be formed and brought up to the hammock in anything like order; but a number of them crossed over individually, and aided in conveying the wounded across the swamp to the hammock, among whom were Captain Curd, and several other officers, whose names I do not now recollect.

To my personal staff, consisting of First Lieutenant J.

M. Hill, of the 2d, and First Lieutenant George H. Griffin, of the 6th infantry, the latter aid-de-camp to Major-General Gaines, and a volunteer in Florida, from his staff, I feel under the greatest obligations for the promptness and efficiency with which they have sustained me throughout the campaign, and more particularly for their good conduct, and the alacrity with which they aided me and conveyed my orders during the action of the 25th ult.

Captain Taylor, commissary of subsistence, who was ordered to join General Jessup at Tampa Bay, as chief of the subsistence department, and who was ordered by him to remain with his column until he, General Jessup, joined it, although no command was assigned Captain Taylor, he greatly exerted himself in trying to rally and bring back the volunteers into action, as well as discharging other important duties which were assigned to him during the action.

Myself, as well as all who witnessed the attention and ability displayed by Surgeon Satterlee, medical director on this side the peninsula, assisted by Assistant Surgeon M'Laren and Simpson, of the medical staff of the army, and Drs. Hannah and Cooke, of the Missouri volunteers, in ministering to the wounded, as well as their uniform kindness to them on all occasions, can never cease to be referred to by me with the most pleasing and grateful recollections.

The quartermaster's department, under the direction of that efficient officer, Major Brant, and his assistant, Lieutenant Babbitt, have done everything that could be accomplished to throw forward from Tampa Bay, and keep up supplies of provisions, forage, &c., with the limited means at their disposal. Assistant Commissaries Lieutenants Harrison, stationed at Fort Gardner, and M'Clure, at Fort Fraser, have fully met my expectations in discharge of the various duties connected with their department, as

well as those assigned them in the quartermaster's department.

This column, in six weeks, penetrated one hundred and fifty miles into the enemy's country, opened roads, and constructed bridges and causeways, when necessary, on the greater portion of the route, established two depots, and the necessary defences for the same, and finally overtook and beat the enemy in his strongest position. The results of which movement and battle have been the capture of thirty of the hostiles, the coming in and surrendering of more than one hundred and fifty Indians and negroes, mostly the former, including the chiefs Ou-la-too-chee, Tus-ta-nug-gee, and other principal men, and capturing and driving out of the country six hundred head of cattle, upwards of one hundred head of horses, besides obtaining a thorough knowledge of the country through which we operated, a greater portion of which was entirely unknown, except to the enemy.

Colonel Gentry died in a few hours after the battle, much regretted by the army, and will be, doubtless, by all who knew him, as his state did not contain a braver man or a better citizen.

It is due to his rank and talents, as well as to his long and important services, that I particularly mention Lieutenant-Colonel A. R. Thompson, of the 6th infantry, who fell, in the discharge of his duty, at the head of his regiment. He was in feeble health, brought on by exposure to this climate during the past summer, refusing to leave the country while his regiment continued in it. Although he received two balls from the fire of the enemy, early in the action, which wounded him severely, yet he appeared to disregard them, and continued to give his orders with the same coolness that he would have done had his regiment been under review, or on any parade duty. Advancing, he received a third ball, which at once deprived

him of life ; his last words were, "Keep steady, men, charge the hammock—remember the regiment to which you belong." I had known Colonel Thompson personally only for a short time, and the more I knew of him the more I wished to know ; and had his life been spared, our acquaintance, no doubt, would have ripened into the closest friendship. Under such circumstances, there are few, if any, other than his bereaved wife, mother, and sisters, who more deeply and sincerely lament his loss, or who will longer cherish his memory, than myself.

Captain Van Swearingen, Lieutenant Brooke, and Lieutenant and Adjutant Center, of the same regiment, who fell on that day, had no superiors of their years in service, and, in point of chivalry, ranked among the first in the army or nation ; besides their pure and disinterested courage, they possessed other qualifications, which qualified them to fill the highest grades of their profession, which, no, doubt, they would have attained and adorned had their lives been spared. The two former served with me on another arduous and trying campaign, and on every occasion, whether in the camp, on the march, or on the field of battle, discharged their various duties to my entire satisfaction.

With greatest respect,

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR, Col. Com'g.

To Brig. Gen. R. JONES, Adj. Gen., U. S. A., }
Washington, D. C. }

The battle of Okee Chobee was one of the most obstinate actions in the protracted Florida war. The government appreciated the achievement of the troops and their gallant commander. Mr. Poinsett, secretary of war, gave Colonel Taylor the warmest commendation in a report to Congress, and he was immediately promoted to the brevet rank of

brigadier-general, with the chief command in Florida. He fixed his head quarters in the neighbourhood of Tampa Bay, from which point he directed the difficult movements which the nature of the war required. He was relieved from this arduous service in 1840, when General Armistead was ordered to take the command.

Upon the close of the Seminole war it seems to have been the intention of the general to retire from military life; in this, however, he was not indulged by government. In 1841, not long after his arrival at New Orleans, he was ordered to relieve General Arbuckle in the command of the second department on the Arkansas river. While at Little Rock, on his way to Fort Gibson, he was tendered a public dinner by the citizens of that town, as an expression of esteem for his "personal worth and meritorious public services." In a brief note the general declined this invitation, on account of the journey being already protracted an unusual length of time, and of his being anxious to proceed on as rapidly as possible to his destined post.

General Taylor now took command of the southern department of the army, including the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, and fixed his head quarters at Fort Jessup, Louisiana. He was not called into active service again until the spring of 1845, when President Polk, in anticipation of an invasion of Texas, ordered him to lead a "corps of observation" to Corpus Christi, west of the Nueces, and to repel any invasive attempt of the Mexicans. His subsequent glorious achievements in the war which began in May, 1846, have been narrated somewhat in detail in our account of the administration of President Polk. It only remains to speak of what relates more especially to General Taylor's personal exertions.

Previous to the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, the gloomiest period of the Mexican war, the people

of the United States were extremely apprehensive for the fate of General Taylor's little army. The general never seemed to entertain any fears as to the result. When informed that Gen. Arista, with about six thousand men, was posted between the little garrison at Fort Brown and the army at Point Isabel, he expressed his determination to march to the relief of the garrison, and to fight whatever force opposed him. This resolution was as honourable to his character as a soldier, as it was to his humanity as a man. The battles of the 8th and 9th of May, 1846, were chiefly gained by the skilful management of the American flying artillery, but General Taylor deserves none the less credit for his dispositions for attack. At Resaca de la Palma, General La Vega was captured by Captain May, of the dragoons, and afterwards introduced on the field to General Taylor, who appreciated the bravery displayed by the Mexican officer. General Taylor shook him warmly by the hand, and addressed to him the following handsome remarks :

“General : I do assure you, I deeply regret that this misfortune has fallen upon *you*. I regret it sincerely, and I take great pleasure in returning you the sword which you have this day worn with so much gallantry ;” handing him, at the same time, the sword which General La Vega had yielded to Captain May. General La Vega made a suitable reply in Spanish, and was then taken charge of by Colonel Twiggs, at the colonel's own request, and entertained by him in the most hospitable manner, in his own tent, until his departure for New Orleans.

One must record and admire so much courtesy and gentleness, united, in a most sanguinary field, with so much devotion and courage.

On the morning after the battle of Resaca de la Palma, General Taylor, with his usual humanity, sent to Matamoros for Mexican surgeons to attend their own wounded,

and for men to bury their dead; and the same day was occupied by the Americans in burying their dead.

On the 11th of May an exchange of prisoners took place; and General Taylor started for Point Isabel for the purpose of communicating with Commodore Conner, commanding the American squadron in the Gulf of Mexico, who had sailed to Brazos Santiago, in order to render aid to the general. The interview is thus humorously described by Mr. Thorpe, in his book entitled "Our Army on the Rio Grande:"

"The singular simplicity that marks General Taylor's personal appearance and habits, has become a subject of universal fame. It is curious that a soldier, so eminent in all the qualities of discipline, should be so citizen-looking in his own appearance. Commodore Conner, on the contrary, is an officer that is not only strict in his dress, but has an extra nicety about it. He appears in full and splendid uniform on all public occasions, being the exact contrast, in this particular, of General Taylor.

"At the proper time, Commodore Conner sent word to General Taylor, that he would come on shore to pay him a visit of ceremony. This put old 'Rough and Ready' into a tremendous excitement. If Commodore Conner had quietly come up to his tent, and given him a sailor's grip, and sat down on a camp-chest, and talked over matters in an old-fashioned way, General Taylor would have been prepared; but, to have the most carefully-dressed officer in our navy, commanding the finest fleet, come in full uniform, surrounded by all the glittering pomp of splendid equipments—to pay a visit of ceremony, was more than General Taylor had, without some effort, nerve to go through with; but, ever equal to the emergencies, he determined to compliment Commodore Conner, and through him the navy, *by appearing in full uniform*, a thing his officers, associated with him for years, had never witnessed.

“In the mean while, Commodore Conner was cogitating over the most proper way to compliment General Taylor. Having heard of his peculiar disregard of military dress, he concluded he would make the visit in a manner comporting to General Taylor’s habits, and consequently equipped himself in plain white drilling, and, unattended, came ashore.

“The moment General Taylor heard that Commodore Conner had landed, he abandoned some heavy work he was personally attending to about the camp, and precipitately rushed into his tent, delved at the bottom of an old chest, and pulled out a uniform coat, that had peacefully slumbered for years in undisturbed quietude, slipped himself into it, in his haste fastening it so that one side of the standing collar was three button-holes above the other, and sat himself down as uncomfortable as can well be imagined. With quiet step, and unattended, Commodore Conner presented himself at General Taylor’s tent. The noble representatives of the army and navy shook hands, both in exceeding astonishment at each other’s personal appearance.”

Some striking incidents attended the capture of Matamoros :—On the morning of the 17th of May, about sunrise, General Ampudia gave the signal that he wished a parley with General Taylor. He sent over to the camp a person, and requested of General Taylor the granting of an armistice. To this General Taylor replied, “Sir, the time for asking an armistice is past; you should have thought of this before; it is now too late to think of such a thing.” General Ampudia then desired a suspension of hostilities. This, also, General Taylor positively refused. He had brought out all his cannon to the front, and was determined they should render some service, at the same time pointing to the cannon and its position. General Ampudia then asked General Taylor if in surrendering the town he would be allowed to except the government property. General

Taylor replied "No," and that he intended to take the town at 8 A. M. the next day.

Ampudia then retired, and General Taylor marched his forces up to Fort Brown, and at daylight commenced crossing the river. No resistance was offered by the Mexicans on the bank of the river, and it is said many of them assisted in landing the boats. One officer, a lieutenant, was drowned in crossing the river. After crossing they were met by a number of Mexican officers, who desired to know of General Taylor if they could retain the government property. General Taylor replied "that he wanted all the town." The American forces then marched into the place, and Adjutant Bliss rode up to the fort, and sounding the parley, demanded the surrender of the town. He was asked if the government property would be excepted. He replied "that nothing could be retained, all must be surrendered." The Mexican flag was immediately hauled down, and the star-spangled banner was run up in its stead.

General Taylor gave orders to his army not to take the slightest article without paying for its actual value. The citizens of Matamoras were permitted to go on with their business as usual, with the exception of selling liquors.

General Taylor's successes were not followed up rapidly, on account of the want of troops and supplies. Before the end of June he was strongly reinforced by the arrival of numerous bodies of fresh volunteers from various parts of the Union; but his means of transportation were still deficient. A very intelligent writer says, "Had General Taylor received the number of volunteers he called for in the first instance, with a sufficiency of steamers with which to move them and their subsistence, it is thought by those best acquainted that the 4th of July would have been celebrated in Monterey instead of Matamoras. The Mexicans certainly

could not have recovered from the panic with which they started from Resaca de la Palma in season to make a formidable stand this side the mountains, so that Monterey could have been taken without firing a gun. It is too late now. A tardiness in forwarding steamers has deprived the commanding general of a most glorious opportunity of occupying one of the strongest holds of the enemy."

On the other hand, the secretary of war, in his annual report, thus apologizes for the apparent neglect of the government to follow up the brilliant successes of General Taylor by prompt and adequate support:

"Owing to the great difficulty in providing the means of transporting supplies for so large a force as that concentrated on the Rio Grande; to the necessity of drawing all those supplies from the United States—the enemy's country being destitute of them; to the unusual freshets which retarded the progress of boats on the river, and to the impracticability of the land route for wagons at that time, arrangements for the movement upon Monterey from Matamoras, by the way of Camargo, the route selected by the commanding general, were not completed until the latter part of August."

The siege of Monterey was as daring in conception, as it was splendid and astonishing in execution. General Taylor was almost entirely unprovided with siege ordnance. His troops were mostly raw volunteers, and their number was not even half of the Mexican regulars in the town. The capture of so strong a place under such circumstances was certainly a glorious achievement.

The first shot fired at Monterey was from one of the long culverins, aimed at General Taylor himself, whilst reconnoitering. It struck a short distance in front of him and bounded over his head. "There! I knew it would fall short of me," he calmly remarked.

In traversing the field of battle it was necessary to cross

a bridge which was constantly swept by the Mexican artillery. When approaching it, it was agreed that they (the general and his staff) should cross it singly at a gallop. Four had crossed thus, when it came to the general's turn. Just as he reached the middle of the bridge, and when the balls were showering around him, something going wrong in another part of the field attracted his attention. Stopping his horse (much to the discomfiture of those following him), he deliberately took out and arranged his spy-glass, satisfied himself, and then closing it, rode on.

By the terms of the capitulation, an armistice of eight weeks was agreed upon. General Taylor has been censured for this concession, and before the armistice expired, he was ordered by his government to break it. From a review of all the circumstances, however, it will appear that such censure is rash. In granting a cessation of hostilities for eight weeks, General Taylor was simply doing what necessity compelled. His loss had been very severe, the enemy were still in great force, and he needed a long time to recruit his army for action.

On the 1st of December, General Taylor was at Victoria, apprehensive of an attack from Santa Anna. He was now superseded in the command of the Army of Occupation by Major-General Winfield Scott, who was appointed commander-in-chief of all the American forces in Mexico.

The theatre of Scott's operations was different from that of Taylor's. His main object was the reduction of the city of Vera Cruz, and the fort of St. Juan de Ulloa, by a combined land and sea force. Vera Cruz being the key of the main road to the capital, General Scott thought that its reduction would compel the Mexicans to sue for peace. To effect this object it became necessary for him to draw from General Taylor the main body of his regular forces: to apprise Taylor of this fact he addressed him the follow-

ing letter, which was written previous to his setting out for the seat of war.

New York, Nov. 25, 1846.

MY DEAR GENERAL: I left Washington late in the day yesterday, and expect to embark for New Orleans the 30th inst. By the 12th of December I may be in that city, at Point Isabel the 17th, and Camargo, say the 23d—in order to be within easy corresponding distance from you. It is not probable that I may be able to visit Monterey, and circumstances may prevent your coming to me. I shall much regret not having an early opportunity of felicitating you in person upon your many brilliant achievements; but we may meet somewhere in the interior of Mexico.

I am not coming, my dear general, to supersede you in the immediate command on the line of operations rendered illustrious by you and your gallant army. My proposed theatre is different. You may imagine it; and I wish very much that it were prudent, at this distance, to tell you all that I expect to attempt or hope to execute. I have been admonished that despatches have been lost, and I have no special messenger at hand. Your imagination will be aided by the letters of the secretary of war, conveyed by Mr. Armistead, Major Graham, and Mr. M'Lane.

But, my dear general, I shall be obliged to take from you most of the gallant officers and men (regulars and volunteers) whom you have so long and so nobly commanded. I am afraid that I shall, by imperious necessity—the approach of yellow fever on the gulf coast—reduce you, for a time, to stand on the defensive. This will be infinitely painful to you, and, for that reason, distressing to me. But I rely upon your patriotism to submit to the temporary sacrifice with cheerfulness. No man can better afford to do so. Recent victories place you on that high eminence; and I even flatter myself that any benefit that may result to me, personally, from the unequal division of troops

alluded to, will lessen the pain of your consequent inactivity.

You will be aware of the recent call for nine regiments of new volunteers, including one of Texas horse. The president may soon ask for many more; and we are not without hope that Congress may add ten or twelve to the regular establishment. These, by the spring, say April, may, by the aid of large bounties, be in the field—should Mexico not earlier propose terms of accommodation; and, long before the spring (March), it is probable you will be again in force to resume offensive operations.

It was not possible for me to find time to write from Washington, as I much desired. I only received an intimation to hold myself in preparation for Mexico, on the 18th instant. Much has been done towards that end, and more remains to be executed.

Your detailed report of the operations at Monterey, and reply to the secretary's despatch, by Lieutenant Armistead, were both received two days after I was instructed to proceed south.

In haste, I remain, my dear general, yours, faithfully,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Major-General Z. TAYLOR,
U. S. Army, commanding, &c. }

Not only were nearly all the regular troops now withdrawn from General Taylor; but his noble coadjutor General Worth was detached and ordered to march at the head of them from his post at Saltillo towards Vera Cruz, while Taylor was ordered to fall back on Monterey and await the arrival of fresh recruits, volunteers who were destined to take the place of the veteran warriors of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey. His address to these veterans is characteristic:

“It is with deep sensibility that the commanding general finds himself separated from the troops he so long com-

manded. To those corps, regular and volunteer, who had shared with him the active services of the field, he feels the attachment due to such associations, while to those who are making their first campaign, he must express his regret that he cannot participate with them in its eventful scenes. To all, both officers and men, he extends his heartfelt wishes for their continued success and happiness, confident that their achievements on another theatre will redound to the credit of their country and its arms."

On reaching Monterey his regular force was 600, including May's dragoons. In February he had received reinforcements raising his army to nearly 6000 men.

General Taylor did not see proper to take General Scott's advice, and stand upon the defensive. If he had allowed himself to be shut up in Monterey, Santa Anna could have overrun all the lower country and recovered what Mexico had lost. Upon hearing of the approach of the Mexican general, with a large army, he occupied the strong position of Angostura, in front of Buena Vista, where with his 5400 men he determined to await the attack of 21,000 Mexican troops. The ground was broken and unfavourable for the operations of the Mexican cavalry, while it permitted the fullest play to the splendid artillery of Taylor's army. A better position for such a purpose could not have been chosen.

In answer to Santa Anna's summons to surrender, General Taylor sent a modest but firm reply. "I decline acceding to your request." The peculiar merits of Taylor as a general never shone more brilliantly than at Buena Vista. During the early part of the battle, he was at the adjacent village, superintending the securing of the baggage and stores. When he arrived upon the field, in spite of the gallant exertions of General Wool, the fortune of the day seemed to be with the enemy. Their cavalry had gained the left flank, and the wearied Kentuckians were giving

ground. General Taylor's presence gave new spirit to the whole army. Taking a position amid the thickest of the conflict, he gave a few rapid orders, brought his two best regiments of infantry to the support of Bragg's splendid artillery, and, in a short time, "rolled back the tide of war." His troops believed him invincible, and they fought under his eye with astonishing valour. The great victory of Buena Vista raised the reputation of General Taylor to the greatest height, and he was at once ranked as one of the best commanders of the age.

After the battle of Buena Vista, General Taylor left his encampment at Agua Nueva, with two companies of Bragg's artillery and Colonel May's squadron of dragoons, in pursuit of General Urrea, who, as the general learned from a spy that was captured by one of the Texan rangers, was retreating towards the mountains with 5000 cavalry and rancheros.

On the 16th of March, General Taylor met Colonel Curtis near Marin. This officer, with about 1200 infantry, composed of Ohio and Virginia volunteers, one company of dragoons, and two pieces of artillery, was now in charge of another train of wagons, with supplies for the army. General Urrea had left Marin the evening before, where he was said to be waiting to attack Curtis's train; but learning that General Taylor was advancing on his rear, he had made a rapid movement some twenty miles from Marin. The American general followed in pursuit the next morning, after sending on the train without an escort, and adding Colonel Curtis's command to his previous force.

The Americans pursued the enemy as far as Caidereta, where it was ascertained that he had escaped beyond the mountains. General Taylor then fell back upon Monterey. This was his last active service in the field.

Among the slain at the battle of Buena Vista, was Colonel Henry Clay, son of the great statesman of Ken-

tucky. General Taylor held the young and gallant officer in high estimation; and not long after the conflict he indited the following letter to the bereaved parent—a tribute which placed his nobility of feeling in a clear view :—

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION, }
Agua Nueva, Mexico, March 1, 1847. }

MY DEAR SIR: You will no doubt have received, before this can reach you, the deeply distressing intelligence of the death of your son in the battle of Buena Vista. It is with no wish of intruding upon the sanctuary of parental sorrow, and with no hope of administering any consolation to your wounded heart, that I have taken the liberty of addressing you these few lines; but I have felt it a duty which I owe to the memory of the distinguished dead, to pay a willing tribute to his many excellent qualities, and while my feelings are still fresh, to express the desolation which his untimely loss and that of other kindred spirits has occasioned.

I had but a casual acquaintance with your son, until he became for a time a member of my military family, and I can truly say that no one ever won more rapidly upon my regard, or established a more lasting claim to my respect and esteem. Manly and honourable in every impulse, with no feeling but for the honour of the service and of the country, he gave every assurance that in the hour of need I could lean with confidence upon his support. Nor was I disappointed. Under the guidance of himself and the lamented M'Kee, gallantly did the sons of Kentucky, in the thickest of the strife, uphold the honour of the state and the country.

A grateful people will do justice to the memory of those who fell on that eventful day. But I may be permitted to express the bereavement which I feel in the loss of valued friends. To your son I felt bound by the strongest

ties of private regard; and when I miss his familiar face, and those of M'Kee and Hardin, I can say with truth, that I feel no exultation in our success.

With the expression of my deepest and most heartfelt sympathies for your irreparable loss, I remain,

Your friend,

Z. TAYLOR.

HON. HENRY CLAY, New Orleans, La.

In the course of the spring succeeding the battle of Buena Vista, General Taylor returned to the United States. Before he left Mexico, however, he had been proposed in various parts of the Union, as a candidate for the presidency. The general had no expectation of such an honour. He had never meddled with partisan politics, and he now looked for no favours at the hands of parties that required pledges.

His political position seems to be very clearly defined in the following letter published in the "Clinton Floridian." It was addressed to a Democrat:

Camp near Monterey, Mexico, June 9th, 1847.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter of the 15th ult., from Clinton, Louisiana, has just reached, in which you are pleased to say, "the signs of the times in relation to the next presidency, and the prominent position of your name in connexion with it, is a sufficient excuse for this letter"—that "it is a happy feature in our government that official functionaries under it, from the lowest to the highest station, are not beyond the reach and partial supervision of the humblest citizen, and that it is a right in every freeman to possess himself of the political principles and opinions of those into whose hands the administration of the government may be placed," &c., to all of which I fully coincide with you in opinion.

Asking my views on several subjects—"1st, as to the justice and necessity of this war with Mexico, on our part; 2d, as to the necessity of a national bank, and the power of Congress for creating such an institution; 3d, as to the effects of a high protective tariff, and the right of Congress, under the Constitution, to create such a system of revenue."

As regards the first interrogatory, with my duties and the position I occupy, I do not consider it would be proper in me to give any opinion in regard to the same; as a citizen, and particularly as a soldier, it is sufficient for me to know that our country is at war with a foreign nation, to do all in my power to bring it to a speedy and honourable termination, by the most vigorous and energetic operations, without inquiring about its justice or anything else connected with it; believing, as I do, it is our wisest policy to be at peace with all the world, as long as it can be done without endangering the honour and interests of the country.

As regards the second and third inquiries, I am not prepared to answer them; I could only do so after investigating those subjects, which I cannot now do; my whole time being fully occupied in attending to my proper official duties, which must not be neglected under any circumstances; and I must say to you in substance what I have said to others in regard to similar matters, that I am no politician. Near forty years of my life have been passed in the public service, in the army, most of which was in the field, the camp, on our western frontier, or in the Indian country; and for nearly the two last in this or Texas, during which time I have not passed one night under the roof of a house.

As regards being a candidate for the presidency at the coming election, I have no aspirations in that way, and regret that the subject has been agitated at this early day, and that it had not been deferred until the close of this

war, or until the end of the next session of Congress, especially if I am to be mixed up with it, as it is possible it may lead to the injury of the public service in this quarter, by my operations being embarrassed, as well as produce much excitement in the country, growing out of the discussion of the merits, &c., of the different aspirants for that high office, which might have been very much allayed, if not prevented, had the subject been deferred as suggested; besides, very many changes may take place between now and 1848, so much so, as to make it desirable for the interest of the country, that some other individual than myself, better qualified for the situation, should be selected; and could he be elected, I would not only acquiesce in such an arrangement, but would rejoice that the republic had one citizen, and no doubt there are thousands, more deserving than I am, and better qualified to discharge the duties of said office.

If I have been named by others, and considered a candidate for the presidency, it has been by no agency of mine in the matter—and if the good people think my services important in that station, and elect me, I will feel bound to serve them, and all the pledges and explanations I can enter into and make, as regards this or that policy, is, that I will do so honestly and faithfully to the best of my abilities, strictly in compliance with the constitution. Should I ever occupy the White House, it must be by the spontaneous move of the people, and by no act of mine, so that I could go into the office untrammelled, and be the chief magistrate of the nation and not of a party.

But should they, the people, change their views and opinions between this and the time of holding the election, and cast their votes for the presidency for some one else, I will not complain. With considerations of respect, I remain, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR.

MR. EDWARD DELUNY.

His popularity increased, and it soon became certain that he would be nominated as a candidate for the presidency.

In the summer of 1848, a national convention of Whigs met at Philadelphia, and after several ballotings, nominated General Taylor as the Whig candidate for the chief magistracy. Millard Fillmore was placed upon the same ticket as a candidate for the vice-presidency. At the fall election, these candidates received a handsome majority.

In February, General Taylor left his home in Louisiana, for the capital of the republic. Upon the route he was everywhere received with enthusiastic demonstrations. On the 4th of March, 1849, he was inaugurated president of the United States, on which occasion he delivered the shortest of all the inaugural addresses. Still the address was as eloquent as it was brief.

The following gentlemen—members of the Whig party—were selected to form the cabinet of the new administration: John M. Clayton, of Delaware, secretary of state; William M. Meredith, of Pennsylvania, secretary of the treasury; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, secretary of the interior—a new department; George W. Crawford, of Georgia, secretary of war; William B. Preston, of Virginia, secretary of the navy; Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, attorney-general; Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, postmaster-general.

President Taylor and his cabinet had the prospect of arduous work before them. Europe was convulsed with the uprisings of the people against tyrannical rulers, and the foreign relations of the country were, in consequence, somewhat complicated. A large tract of territory had been added to the domain of the republic, and means were to be devised for giving it an efficient government. The subject of slavery was agitated in all parts of the Union, and an intense excitement prevailed in both the north and the south. The opposition had a majority in Congress. Such

a state of affairs required a bold, decided, able, and hard-working administration.

Upon the meeting of Congress in December, 1849, the Senate proceeded to transact important business before an organization could be effected in the House. It was proposed to suspend all diplomatic intercourse with Austria on account of the atrocities perpetrated by that power after the insurgent Hungarians were suppressed. This elicited a warm discussion; and the proposal was ultimately rejected. The occasion was sufficient, however, to permit a free expression of humane sympathies by a number of the most distinguished statesmen in the Union.

In the House, a speaker could not be elected until the 65th balloting had taken place, when Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was chosen by a small majority. During this exciting contest it was rendered evident that agitators on both sides of the slavery question intended to introduce the subject into every debate. Threats of dissolving the Union were made in both Houses by prominent members, the distinguished statesman, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, being the chief assertor of secession and nullification doctrines.

At length, to restore harmony to the councils of the nation, a number of distinguished senators proposed a compromise embracing the whole difficulty of slavery. A committee of thirteen senators was appointed, the venerable Henry Clay being named as chairman, to consider and report upon the compromise resolutions. After much deliberation, this committee reported a series of measures to be united in one bill. Their objects were to admit California into the Union, with her constitution as a free state; to provide territorial governments for New Mexico and the Mormon region of Utah; to restore fugitive slaves to their masters; to abolish the slave trade in the district of Columbia; and to pay the state of Texas \$10,000,000 to

relinquish her claim upon New Mexico. This compromise measure was known as the "Omnibus Bill." The administration indicated that it was opposed to any such combination of measures, and also, that its policy was to admit California, without any conditions, and to leave the question of slavery in the territories to the people who settled them. The other measures were deemed unnecessary at the time.

The debate upon the "Omnibus Bill" continued for about two months, a splendid array of talent being exhibited on both sides of the question. Finally, the measures were separated, slightly modified, and then passed by both Houses, (August, 1850). Some of these measures were violently denounced in various parts of the Union, by ultra men. But comparative quiet was restored to the country.

In the spring of 1850, an expedition was organized in the south western part of the Union, with the object of revolutionizing the island of Cuba. General Narciso Lopez was the commander-in-chief. Supplies were collected and men enlisted. The government officials gaining intelligence of these movements, President Taylor issued a proclamation, expressing his determination to maintain the neutral laws of the United States, and declaring that those who violated them would place themselves beyond the protection of the government. The proclamation was as follows :

"There is reason to believe that an armed expedition is about to be fitted out in the United States, with an intention to invade the island of Cuba, or some of the provinces of Mexico. The best information which the Executive has been able to obtain, points to the island of Cuba as the object of this expedition. It is the duty of this government to observe the faith of treaties, and to prevent any aggression by our citizens upon the territories of friendly nations. I have, therefore, thought it necessary and proper to issue this proclamation, to warn all citizens of the United States,

who shall connect themselves with an enterprise so grossly in violation of our laws and our treaty obligations, that they will thereby subject themselves to the heavy penalties denounced against them by our acts of Congress, and will forfeit their claim to the protection of their country. No such persons must expect the interference of this government, in any form, on their behalf, no matter to what extremities they may be reduced in consequence of their conduct. An enterprise to invade the territories of a friendly nation, set on foot and prosecuted within the limits of the United States, is, in the highest degree, criminal, as tending to endanger the peace and compromise the honour of this nation; and, therefore, I exhort all good citizens, as they regard our national reputation, as they respect their own laws and the laws of nations, as they value the blessings of peace and the welfare of their country, to discountenance and prevent, by all lawful means, any such enterprise; and I call upon every officer of this government, civil or military, to use all efforts in his power to arrest, for trial and punishment, every such offender against the laws providing for the performance of our sacred obligations to friendly powers.

“Given under my hand the 11th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, and the seventy-fourth of the independence of the United States.

Z. TAYLOR.

By the President:

J. M. CLAYTON,

Secretary of State.”

The restless spirits engaged in the expedition were undaunted, however, and in the latter part of April, they rendezvoused at Contoy island, in the Gulf, about 75 miles distant from Cuba. General Lopez, with about 450 men, soon afterwards sailed, in the steamer Creole, for the Cuban

shore. On the morning of the 19th of May, the invaders landed at the town of Cardenas, and immediately engaged a superior force of Spanish troops. The battle was brief. The Spaniards were routed, and Lopez retained full possession of the town. An appeal to the people to join his ranks was then issued, but few complied with his wishes, and even these could not obtain arms. In the latter part of the day some severe fighting took place, and the invaders suffered so much that they gave up the expedition, retired on board the Creole, and returned to the United States. Thus ended an expedition rashly undertaken and feebly executed. General Lopez and a number of distinguished Americans, who were supposed to have aided the expedition, were arrested by the United States, but no evidence could be obtained of their criminality, and they were therefore discharged.

After the Compromise discussion and the Cuban expedition, the state of affairs in California was the chief source of interest during this administration. The golden wealth of that territory astonished the world. Immense quantities of the precious metal were sent to the Atlantic States and to Europe. In the mean time, the turbulent condition of the mining region and the important interests lacking regulation caused the general government considerable anxiety. The miners quarrelled among themselves, and the Indians displayed their cruel hostility to all the immigrant population, whenever an opportunity presented. As the general government delayed the recognition of the State Constitution and the admission of the state into the Union, the Californians proposed to form an independent government, and establish a new empire upon the Pacific. The secretary of war, in a despatch to General Smith, commander of the United States forces in California, thus notices this and other matters of importance :—

“Touching the internal regulations of California, it is pre-

sumed that a government *de facto* remains, or has been established in it; that it rests on the consent of the inhabitants under it, and that its chief authority is exercised for the protection and security of the rights of persons and property. California being a part of the territory of the United States, must be regarded as subject to the constitution, and all laws made in pursuance thereof; and hence, any regulation in opposition to them will be considered as having no binding effect. With this limitation, such a government will be respected and aided by you in the exercise of its functions.

“The defence of the territory against foreign invasion, and the preservation of internal tranquillity from civil commotion, will be objects of your care, and may require the exercise of your authority. The duty of regarding the obligations of the treaty lately concluded with the republic of Mexico, is now superadded; especially those provisions which relate to the time when the resident Mexicans are required to make their election of citizenship, and others who may choose to remove with their property beyond the limits of the United States, into Mexico. The promise to incorporate the first class into the Union, with all its attendant privileges and blessings, may, and doubtless will, be a subject of deep concern to Congress, which alone can admit them as a component part of our confederacy. Your observation and intercourse will furnish ample opportunities of knowing their probable number, habits of life, and capability to receive and maintain our republican institutions.

“The plan of establishing an independent government in California cannot be sanctioned, no matter from what source it may come. The territory belongs to the United States, and should be defended against all attempts to weaken or overthrow their authority. Already have the revenue laws and those pertaining to the post office been extended

over them, and appropriate officers appointed to execute them. An independent government, as contemplated by your letter, would either suspend or set aside the force of these laws, and the functions of these officers. The president cannot permit the exercise of any authority in conflict with that which he is bound to maintain, by taking care that the laws be faithfully executed."

By the passage of the Compromise measures, California became a sovereign state, and thus a great source of anxiety in the Union, and discontent in the mining regions, was allayed.

While the Compromise measures were under discussion in Congress, the nation was suddenly called to mourn the loss of its chief magistrate. President Taylor died of chronic diarrhoea, on the 9th of July, 1850. His illness was very short, and his death took the nation by surprise. His last words were expressive of his character—"I am ready. I have endeavoured to do my duty." His funeral ceremonies were attended with all the honours and solemnities the republic delights to give to departed greatness.

In person, General Taylor was of the middle height, robust and hardy. His deeply furrowed countenance was that of a war-worn soldier, with a general expression of combined gentleness and determination. His manners were simple and unaffected, and his bearing towards others was that of nature's gentleman. He made but little impression as a statesman, but the laurels he won upon many a hard-fought field are of a quality that cannot fade. Of all the presidents of the United States, Washington alone excepted, he had the fewest personal enemies—and these were ever lenient in their treatment of him. The mild, but firm character of the true hero, was developed most beautifully in President Taylor. Under all circumstances, duty was his first consideration; but he performed what he believed to be right, unostentatiously, and without wantonly or

recklessly injuring those who came within his sphere. But his character is best delineated in the eloquent eulogies of members of the House of Representatives, upon the announcement of his death. The Hon. Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana, spoke of him as follows:—

“ Mr. SPEAKER :—In accordance with a wish expressed by many members, I have prepared a resolution adapted to the melancholy event which has just been announced, and which I propose to offer to the House. Before doing so, however, I would do violence to my own feelings, as a representative of that state of which the illustrious deceased was a citizen and the brightest ornament, if I did not offer some remarks appropriate to the occasion. Seldom has an event occurred which more strikingly illustrates the uncertainty of life and the instability of all earthly greatness than the one we are called upon to deplore.

“ A few days ago General Taylor was in his usual robust health. On the fourth of this month he attended some ceremonies which took place in commemoration of the anniversary of our national independence. As the ceremonies occurred in the open air, it is believed that the exposure to a heat of unusual intensity produced the malady, which, at about half-past ten o'clock last night, terminated his earthly career. A great patriot has fallen! A great benefactor of his country has departed from among us! In a few hours a nation will be plunged in mourning, and a voice of lamentation will ascend from twenty millions of people !

“ It is not my purpose, Mr. Speaker, to dwell at length on the public career and military achievements of General Taylor. These belong to the history of his country, and are deeply engraven on the memories and hearts of his countrymen. I prefer to dwell on those minor traits of his character, which, as they exert a less perceptible influence

on the destinies of nations, are too often overlooked by the historian.

“General Taylor’s was not one of those characters, of which history furnishes many conspicuous examples, in which many great defects are concealed amid the dazzling splendour of a single virtue. On the luminous disc of his character no dark spots are perceptible. *His* biographer will have no great follies to conceal, or faults to excuse, or crimes to palliate or condemn. There is no dark passage in *his* life which justice will be called upon to condemn, or morality to reprove, or humanity to deplore. Like the finished production of an artist, the details of the picture are as correct and as beautiful as the general outline is grand and imposing.

“His heroic courage and military genius are those qualities to which he is chiefly indebted for his fame, and yet those who knew him best would not consider them the prominent attributes of his character. On the contrary, this courage appeared only an adventitious quality, occasionally developed by circumstances requiring its exercise. His prominent characteristics, always manifest, were an unaffected modesty, combined with extraordinary firmness, a stern sense of duty, a love of justice tempered and softened by a spirit of universal benevolence, an inflexible integrity, a truthfulness that knew no dissimulation, a sincerity and frankness which rendered concealment or disguise absolutely impossible.

“These were the traits that endeared him to his friends, and inspired with confidence all who approached him. These were the qualities which in private life made him the upright man, the valuable citizen, the devoted friend, the affectionate husband, the fond father, the kind and indulgent master, and which, brought into public life, made him the disinterested patriot, and the faithful and conscientious magistrate. His martial courage was set

off and relieved by this group of civic virtues, as the brilliancy of the diamond is enhanced by the gems of softer ray by which it is encircled.

“The mass of the people in all countries possess a wonderful sagacity in detecting the prominent traits of their distinguished men. The American people are inferior to none in this quality; and they soon discovered and appreciated the merits of General Taylor. It is not surprising, therefore, that they called him, almost by acclamation, to fill the first office in their gift.

“It is so common for the most ambitious men to affect a reluctance in accepting those very honours which they have long and ardently coveted, that we are apt to consider all such professions as indicating feelings the very reverse of those they express. Those, however, who knew General Taylor well, entertained no doubt of the entire sincerity of his declarations when he was called upon to be a candidate for the office of president.

“The excitement of politics had no charm for one who had always been extremely averse to political controversy. The pomp and splendour of the presidential mansion had no temptations for one who was always remarkable for the simplicity of his tastes and the frugality of his habits. Add to this, that his unaffected modesty and inexperience in public affairs led him sincerely to distrust his ability to discharge the duties of this high and responsible station.

“At no period of our history, indeed, was the executive chair surrounded by more difficulties than those which encompassed it when he was called on to occupy it. Party spirit was still raging with unabated fury; a dark cloud was visible on the horizon, which portended that a storm of unusual violence was approaching, and would shortly burst forth. Under such circumstances, a man even of stouter heart than his might well hesitate before he consented to embark on this ‘sea of troubles.’ Yielding,

however, to the public voice, and to the arguments and persuasion of his friends, he did embark. The tempest arose; and in the midst of its fury, while the vessel of state was tossed to and fro, and all eyes were turned with a confidence not unmingled with anxiety on the pilot who, calm and collected, guided her course, that pilot was suddenly swept from the helm!"

And the Hon. Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky, one of his companions in arms, eulogized his character with superior eloquence.

"I have not risen to dwell upon his great exploits or to recount his many virtues. These can derive no additional lustre from the voice of exaggerated eulogy: they are already familiar to every votary of courage, truth, and worth. Comparison between Zachary Taylor and celebrated ancients, illustrious in life or death, will neither diminish nor increase his claim to the admiration of mankind. *His* character was formed on no pre-existing model. Reared amidst the solitudes of the western wilderness, his principles were fashioned by the precepts of the Kentucky pioneer; and his glorious career has amply vindicated *their* Christianity, wisdom, and patriotism. The statue of his fame shall rise before the student of American greatness, not merely sublime from the beauty of its just proportions, but conspicuous from its originality. The column is now complete. Omniscience has withdrawn the workman—Time and Earth have but 'the sign and token' of the great original. The pencil of history will fill the bold outline of our illustrious American, for the contemplation and admiration of posterity.

"Great, without pride; cautious, without fear; brave, without rashness; stern, without harshness; modest, without bashfulness; apt, without flippancy; intelligent, without the pedantry of learning; sagacious, without cunning; benevolent, without ostentation; sincere and honest as the

sun, the 'noble old Roman' has at last laid down his earthly harness—his task is done. He has fallen, as falls the summer tree in the bloom of its honours, ere the blight of autumn has seared a leaf that adorns it.

"The beauties of his domestic life remain to his family as sacred recollections. It is not *for us* there to intrude, or, by any attempt to pass them in review, to disturb the melancholy but sweet satisfaction the memory of them must necessarily inspire."

After the funeral ceremonies were concluded, Senator Webster introduced the following resolution into the body of which he was a member, and they were subsequently adopted by both houses of Congress :

"A Bill for the erection of a Monument to the memory of Zachary Taylor, late President of the United States.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Commissioner of the Public Buildings be and he hereby is directed to cause to be erected in the burial ground of the city of Washington a neat and appropriate Monument to the memory of Zachary Taylor, late President of the United States, who died at Washington, the 9th July, 1850, with a suitable inscription on the same, stating the name, station, age, and time of death of the deceased.

"SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That a sum, not exceeding two thousand dollars, be, and the same is hereby appropriated for the payment of the cost thereof, from any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

It is one of the peculiar glories of the great American republic that it opens the highest positions to simple, naked merit. The teacher of a country school to-day may be the congressman of to-morrow. Nay, he who wields the sledge to earn his bread, may step from his shop to the legislative hall, if, in the judgment of his fellow-citizens, he possesses the requisite qualifications. The subject of this memoir is a brilliant illustration of this grand result of our free institutions. His progress from the factory to the presidential mansion should be attentively studied by every American who would appreciate the full value of our republican form of government.

MILLARD FILLMORE was born at Summer Hill, Cayuga county, New York, January 7th, 1800. His father was a farmer, named Nathaniel Fillmore, who lost all his property through a defect in the title. About the year 1802, the family removed to the town of Sempronius, where they lived until 1819, when the father of the subject of this memoir removed to a farm in Erie county.

The narrow means of his father deprived Millard of any advantages of education beyond what were afforded by the imperfect and ill-taught schools of the county. Books were scarce and dear, and at the age of fifteen, when more favoured youths are far advanced in their classical studies, or enjoying in colleges the benefit of well-furnished libraries,



young Fillmore had read but little except his common school books and the Bible. At that period he was sent into the then wilds of Livingston county, to learn the clothier-trade. He remained there about four months, and was then placed with another person to pursue the same business and wool-carding in the town where his father lived. A small village library, which was formed there soon after, gave him the first means of acquiring general knowledge through books. He improved the opportunity thus offered; the appetite grew by what it fed upon. The thirst for knowledge soon became insatiate, and every leisure moment was spent in reading. Four years were passed in this way, working at his trade, and storing his mind, during such hours as he could command, with the contents of books of history, biography, and travels. At the age of nineteen he fortunately made an acquaintance with the late Walter Wood, Esq., whom many will remember as one of the most estimable citizens of that county. Judge Wood was a man of wealth and great business capacity; he had an excellent law library, but did little professional business. He soon saw that under the rude exterior of the clothier's boy, were powers that only required proper development to raise the possessor to high distinction and usefulness, and advised him to quit his trade and study law. In reply to the objection of a lack of education, means, and friends to aid him in a course of professional study, Judge Wood kindly offered to give him a place in his office, to advance money to defray his expenses, and wait until success in business should furnish the means of repayment. The offer was accepted. The apprentice boy bought his time; entered the office of Judge Wood, and for more than two years applied himself closely to business and to study. He read law and general literature, and studied and practised surveying.

Fearing he should incur too large a debt to his benefactor,

he taught school for three months in the year, and acquired the means of partially supporting himself. In the fall of 1821, he removed to the county of Erie, and the next spring entered a law office in Buffalo. There he sustained himself by teaching school, and continued his legal studies until the spring of 1823, when he was admitted to the Common Pleas, and commenced practice in the village of Aurora, where he remained until 1830, when he again removed to Buffalo, and has continued to reside there ever since.

His first entrance into public life was in January, 1829, when he took his seat as a member of the legislature from Erie county, to which office he was re-elected the two following years.

His talents, integrity, and assiduous devotion to public business, soon won for him the confidence of the House in an unexampled degree. It was a common remark among the members, "If Fillmore says it is right, we will vote for it."

The most important measure of a general nature that came up during his service in the state Legislature was, the bill to abolish imprisonment for debt. In behalf of that great and philanthropic measure, Mr. Fillmore took an active part, urging with unanswerable arguments its justice and expediency, and, as a member of the committee on the subject, aiding to perfect its details. That portion of the bill relating to justices' courts was drafted by him, the remainder being the work of the Hon. John C. Spencer. The bill met with a fierce, unrelenting opposition at every step of its progress, and to Millard Fillmore, as much as to any other man, is New York indebted, for expunging from the statute book that relic of a cruel and barbarous age, imprisonment for debt.

He was elected to Congress in the year 1832. He took his seat in the stormy session of 1833-4, immediately

succeeding the removal of the deposits. In those days, the business of the House and debates were led by old and experienced members—new ones, unless they enjoyed a wide-spread and almost national reputation, rarely taking an active and conspicuous part. Little chance, therefore, was afforded him as a member of the opposition, young and unassuming, of displaying those qualities that so eminently fit him for legislative usefulness. But the school was one admirably qualified more fully to develop and cultivate those powers which, under more favourable circumstances, have enabled him to render such varied and important services to his country. As he has ever done in all the stations he has filled, he discharged his duty with scrupulous fidelity, never omitting, on all proper occasions, any effort to advance the interest of his constituents and the country, and winning the respect and confidence of all.

At the close of his term of service, he resumed the practice of his profession, which he pursued with distinguished reputation and success, until, yielding to the public voice, he consented to become a candidate, and was re-elected to Congress, in the fall of 1836. In the 25th Congress, Mr. Fillmore took a more active part than he had during his first term, and on the assembling of the next Congress, to which he was re-elected by a largely increased majority, he was assigned a prominent place on what, next to that of Ways and Means, was justly anticipated would become the most important committee of the House—that on Elections. It was in this Congress that the famous contested New Jersey case came up.

The prominent part which Mr. Fillmore took in that case, his patient investigation of all its complicated, minute details, the clear manner in which he set forth the facts, all strongly directed public attention to him as one of the ablest men of that Congress, distinguished, as it was,

by the eminent ability and statesmanship of many of its members.

On the assembling of the next Congress, to which Mr. Fillmore was re-elected by a majority larger than was ever before given in his district, he was placed at the head of the committee of Ways and Means. The duties of that station, always arduous and responsible, were at that time peculiarly so. A new administration had come into power, and found public affairs in a state of the greatest derangement. Accounts had been wrongly kept, peculation of every kind abounded in almost every department of the government, the revenue was inadequate to meet the ordinary expenses, the already large existing debt was rapidly swelling in magnitude, commerce and manufactures were depressed, the currency was deranged, banks were embarrassed, and general distress pervaded the community. To bring order out of disorder, to replenish the national treasury, to provide means that would enable the government to meet the demands against it, and to pay off the debt, to revive the industry of the country, and restore its wonted prosperity; these were the tasks devolved upon the committee of Ways and Means. Mr. Fillmore applied himself to the task, and, sustained by a majority whose enlightened patriotism has rarely been equalled and never surpassed, succeeded in its accomplishment.

The measures he brought forward, and sustained with matchless ability, speedily relieved the government from its embarrassment, and have fully justified the most sanguine expectations of their benign influence upon the country at large. A new and more accurate system of keeping accounts, rendering them clear and intelligible, was introduced. The favouritism and peculation which had so long disgraced the departments and plundered the treasury were checked by the requisition of contracts. The credit of the government was restored, ample means were pro-

vided for the exigencies of the public service, and the payment of the National Debt incurred by the former administration. Commerce and manufactures revived, and prosperity and hope once more smiled upon the land. The labour of devising, explaining, and defending measures productive of such happy results was thrown chiefly on Mr. Fillmore.

After his long and severe labours in the committee room—labours sufficiently arduous to break down any but one of an iron constitution—sustained by a spirit that nothing could conquer, he was required to give his unremitting attention to the House, to make any explanation that might be asked, and be ready with a complete and triumphant refutation of every cavil or objection that the ingenious sophistry of a factious minority could devise. All this, too, was required to be done with promptness, clearness, dignity, and temper. For the proper performance of these varied duties, few men are more happily qualified than Mr. Fillmore. At that fortunate age, when the physical and intellectual powers are displayed in the highest perfection, and the hasty impulses of youth, without any loss of its vigour, are brought under control of large experience in public affairs, with a mind capable of descending to minute details, as well as conceiving a grand system of national policy, calm and deliberate in judgment, self-possessed and fluent in debate, of dignified presence, never unmindful of the courtesies becoming social and public intercourse, and of political integrity unimpeachable, he was admirably fitted for the post of leader of the 27th Congress.

In 1844, Mr. Fillmore was nominated by the Whigs of New York state as their candidate for governor. Silas Wright, an able and popular Democrat, was his opponent, and was elected by a large majority. The same year, the Democrats carried the state for Mr. Polk. Still the Whigs did not lose their confidence in the popularity of Mr. Fill-

more. In 1847 he was nominated as a candidate for Comptroller of the state—a very responsible office, and one requiring the highest integrity and financial ability in its possessor. At the election, Mr. Fillmore triumphed by a tremendous majority.

When General Taylor was nominated for the presidency, in 1848, by the Whig National Convention, Mr. Fillmore was selected to strengthen the ticket, as a candidate for the vice-presidency. This nomination, while it was complimentary to Mr. Fillmore, secured the cordial support of the friends of Henry Clay. The result of the election was the triumph of the Whig candidates.

Mr. Fillmore was inaugurated vice-president of the United States on the 4th of March, 1849. He presided over the Senate during one of the stormiest sessions ever known, with a dignity and ability which commanded general admiration. He was understood to be in favour of the compromise measures, while President Taylor's administration was opposed to them. By the death of the president on the 9th of July, 1850, Mr. Fillmore became chief magistrate of the Republic. He at once took the oath of office, and communicated in a formal message, the death of President Taylor to Congress. The message was as follows:

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :

A great man has fallen among us, and a whole country is called to an occasion of unexpected, deep, and general mourning.

I recommend to the two houses of Congress to adopt such measures, as in their discretion may seem proper, to perform with due solemnities the funeral obsequies of Zachary Taylor, late president of the United States ; and thereby to signify the great and affectionate regard of the American people for the memory of one whose life has been devoted to the public service, whose career in arms

has not been surpassed in usefulness or brilliancy, who has been so recently raised by the unsolicited voice of the people to the highest civil authority in the government,—which he administered with so much honour and advantage to his country; and by whose sudden death so many hopes of future usefulness have been blighted for ever.

To you, senators and representatives of a nation in tears, I can say nothing which can alleviate the sorrow with which you are oppressed. I appeal to you to aid me, under the trying circumstances which surround me, in the discharge of the duties, from which, however much I may be oppressed by them, I dare not shrink; and I rely upon Him, who holds in his hands the destinies of nations, to endow me with the requisite strength for the task, and to avert from our country the evils apprehended from the heavy calamity which has befallen us.

I shall most readily concur in whatever measures the wisdom of the two Houses may suggest, as befitting this deeply melancholy occasion.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Washington, July 10th, 1850.

Upon his accession all the members of the cabinet sent in their resignations. A new cabinet was organized, but not without much delay and difficulty, as the compromise discussion had created a breach in the Whig party. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, was appointed secretary of state; Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, secretary of the treasury; Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Virginia, secretary of the interior; Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana, secretary of war; William H. Graham, of North Carolina, secretary of the navy; John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, attorney-general; Nathan K. Hall, of New York, postmaster-general.

Before the end of Mr. Fillmore's administration, Mr. Graham retired from the navy department, and John P. Kennedy, of Maryland, was appointed to succeed him. But

one other change occurred in the cabinet by the death of Mr. Webster, who was succeeded by Edward Everett, of Massachusetts.

It was expected that the president's policy would be decidedly of a Whig complexion; but as the opposition had a majority in Congress, no great measure of the administration party could be carried out. The president recommended the protective policy in regard to the tariff, but no alteration of importance was made in the tariff adopted in 1846.

The foreign relations of the Union had occupied a great share of attention during General Taylor's administration. Difficulties had occurred with England, France, Spain, and Portugal, all of which were finally settled under Mr. Fillmore's administration. A treaty was negotiated with England, by which a route across Central America was secured to both nations. The French minister was dismissed; but his place was soon filled by a more agreeable personage. Spain's apprehensions in regard to the designs of the United States upon Cuba were quieted for a time. The difficulty with Portugal concerned indemnification for the destruction of the privateer General Armstrong in a Portuguese port during the war of 1812. Being submitted to the arbitration of President Bonaparte, of France, he decided in favour of Portugal. In December, 1850, a racy correspondence occurred between Secretary Webster and the Austrian minister, the Chevalier Hulsemann, concerning an alleged interference of the United States in Hungarian affairs. Mr. Webster's reply to the letter of the Chevalier was generally considered a masterly vindication of the power and position of the United States, and it remains a model paper for the study of statesmen.

The failure of the expedition to revolutionize Cuba in 1850 did not end the efforts of General Lopez and his friends. Preparations were secretly made for an expedition

on a more extensive scale under the command of the same general. The signs were unmistakable, and the officers of the government active in gaining intelligence of the movement. The president issued a proclamation similar in character to that issued by President Taylor, when the first Cuban expedition was prepared. Nevertheless, men were enlisted, and supplies collected in several Southern ports, and in August, the steamer Pampero, with General Lopez and about 400 men on board, sailed for Cuba. The troops landed at the town of Bahia Honda. None of the inhabitants joined them in accordance with their expectations, and they were left alone to combat the greatly superior forces of the Spanish government. The country swarmed with persons hostile to the invaders. But supplies were wanting, and Lopez determined to press forward to the interior of the country, taking to the mountains as a last refuge. Colonel Crittenden, with sixty men, was left in charge of the baggage. This detachment was attacked by a large body of Spaniards and routed. Colonel Crittenden, and fifty-two of his men, attempting to escape in open boats, were picked up by the Spanish frigate Pizarro, and taken in irons to Havana. Their trial and punishment were of a summary character—all were shot.

In the mean time, General Lopez was attacked by large numbers of regular Spanish troops, and compelled to fight with desperation. The Spaniards were repulsed with great slaughter. But being reinforced, they returned to the attack, and, after an obstinate conflict, routed the invaders, who dispersed among the mountains. Most of them were killed or captured. General Lopez was made prisoner and taken to Havana, where he was shortly afterwards put to death by the *garote*, a Spanish instrument of execution. A large number of the invaders who had been captured were imprisoned by the captain-general, Concha, and afterwards sent to Spain. The queen, with commendable mode-

ration, pardoned them all, and had them sent back to the United States. Thus ended another rash attempt to revolutionize the island of Cuba. Its tendencies were to increase the desire of the people in some portions of the United States to possess that fertile island, and to excite the alarm, not only of Spain, but of other European nations who had colonies adjacent to the great republic.

On the 24th of September, 1852, the secretary of state, Daniel Webster, a statesman and orator almost unrivalled in the annals of the country, expired at Marshfield, Massachusetts, at the age of sixty-eight years. Henry Clay, the great statesman of the West, had died at Washington but a few months before. The death of these distinguished men left a void in the national councils which was extremely difficult to fill. The country mourned for them, and in all the chief cities eulogies were pronounced in honour of their memory. Mr. Webster was succeeded in the office of secretary of state by Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, who soon found an opportunity to distinguish himself in the conduct of foreign affairs.

Apprehending that the United States government entertained designs upon Cuba, Lord John Russell, the British minister of foreign affairs, proposed that Great Britain, France, and the United States should enter into a tripartite treaty, securing that island to the crown of Spain for ever. Mr. Everett rejected this proposal in a lengthy letter, which by its force of logic, national spirit, and brilliancy of style, excited general admiration. The tripartite treaty was clearly shown to be totally incompatible with the true interest and the progressive policy of the republic. Lord John Russell replied to the letter of the American secretary, assailed his arguments in a rather sarcastic tone, and concluded by saying that Great Britain would thenceforward be perfectly free to pursue her own separate policy in regard to Cuba. This reply was not made directly to the Ameri-

can department of state, but in an epistle to Mr. Crampton, the British minister at Washington; and it did not arrive in the United States until a new administration had been inaugurated, and Mr. Everett had retired from office. From the nature of the reply and the character of its direction, Mr. Everett considered himself called upon to vindicate his position, and he did this in a published letter even more remarkable for ability and eloquence than the former epistle from the state department. The following passage is in vindication of the course pursued by President Fillmore's administration:—

“There is no doubt widely prevalent in this country a feeling that the people of Cuba are justly disaffected to the government of Spain. A recent impartial French traveller, M. Ampere, confirms this impression. All the ordinary political rights enjoyed in free countries, are denied to the people of that Island. The government is, in principle, the worst form of despotism, viz. : Absolute authority delegated to a military viceroy, and supported by an army from abroad. I speak of the nature of the government, and not of the individuals by whom it is administered—for I have formed a very favourable opinion of the personal character of the present captain-general, as of one or two of his predecessors. Of the bad faith and the utter disregard of treaties with which this bad government is administered, your committees on the slave trade have spoken plainly enough at the late session of Parliament. Such being the state of things in Cuba, it does not seem to me very extraordinary or reproachful, that, throughout the United States, a handful of misguided young men should be found, ready to join a party of foreigners, headed by a Spanish general, who was able to persuade them, not as you view it, ‘by armed invasion to excite the obedient to revolt, and the tranquil to disturbance,’ but, as they were

led to believe, to aid an oppressed people in their struggles for freedom.

“There is no reason to doubt that there are, at this moment, as many persons, foreigners as well as natives, in England, who entertain these feelings and opinions, as in the United States; and if Great Britain lay at a distance of one hundred and ten miles from Cuba, instead of thirty-five hundred, you might not, with all your repressive force, find it easy to prevent a small steamer, disguised as a trading vessel, from slipping off from an outport in the night, on an unlawful enterprise. The expedition of General Torrijos, in 1831, as far as illegality is concerned, is the parallel of that of General Lopez. It was fitted out in the Thames, without interruption till the last moment, and though it then fell under the grasp of the police, its members succeeded in escaping to Spain, where for sometime they found shelter at Gibraltar. It is declared in the last number of the Quarterly Review to be ‘notorious that associations have been formed at London for the subversion of dynasties with which England is at peace; that arms have been purchased and loans proposed; that “Central Committees” issue orders from England, and that Messrs. Mazzini and Kossuth have established and preside over boards of regency for the Roman States and Hungary, and for the promotion of revolution in every part of the world.’ I have before me a list, purporting to be taken from a Prussian Police gazette, of fifteen associations of continental refugees organized in London and now in action for the above-mentioned purposes.

“When these things are considered, the fact that in the course of four or five years two inconsiderable and abortive efforts have been made from the United States, though deeply to be lamented and sternly to be condemned as a violation of municipal and international law, does not appear to me so ‘shocking’ as it seems to be thought

by you. It does not, in my judgment, furnish any ground for the reproaches which it has drawn upon the government and people of the United States. Nor does the remark in my letter of the 1st of December, that a disposition to engage in such enterprises would be increased rather than diminished by our accession to the proposed convention, strike me as 'a melancholy avowal,' as you pronounced it, on the part of the president. You forget the class from which such adventurers are, in all countries, enlisted—the young, the reckless, the misinformed. What other effect could be expected to be produced on this part of the population, by being told that their own government, in disregard of the most obvious public interests, as well as of the most cherished historical traditions, had entered into a compact with two foreign powers to guaranty the perpetuity of the system under which Cuba now suffers? Does not Lord Howden, the English minister at Madrid, make a very similar avowal in his letter of the 30th May last, addressed to the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, when he says, 'I cannot conclude without expressing my deep regret that the course of Spain is such as to produce a general alienation in the opinion of the English public, out of which will most infallibly result a state of feeling *which no government can control or oppose.*'

"The idea that a convention like that proposed was a measure naturally called for, in consequence of these lawless expeditions, seems to rest upon an entire misconception of the present state of the law in the United States, and of our treaty relations with Spain. Our treaties with that government and the laws of the United States forbid all such enterprises. The tripartite convention would have added nothing to their unlawfulness. If we had been desirous of multiplying objections, we might well have complained that the acts of a very small number of rash

young men, citizens and foreigners, should be put forward by two of the leading powers of Europe as the main reason why we should be expected to enter into a strange compact with those powers, binding ourselves never to make a lawful and honourable acquisition of Cuba. There is no logical connexion between the ideas, and there is something bordering upon the offensive in their association.

“Consider, too, the recent antecedents of the powers that invite us to disable ourselves to the end of time from the acquisition in any way of this natural appendage to our continent. France, within the present century, to say nothing of the acquisition of Louisiana, has wrested a moiety of Europe from its native sovereigns; has possessed herself by force of arms, and at the time greatly to the discontent of England, of six hundred miles of the northern coast of Africa, with an indefinite extension into the interior, and has appropriated to herself one of the most important insular groups of the Pacific. England, not to mention her other numerous recent acquisitions in every part of the globe, has, even since your despatch of the 16th of February was written, annexed half of the Burman empire to her overgrown Indian possessions, on grounds—if the statements in Mr. Cobden’s pamphlet are to be relied upon—compared with which the reasons assigned by Russia for invading Turkey are respectable.

“The United States do not require to be advised of the utility of those rules for the observance of international relations, which for centuries have been known to Europe by the name of the ‘Law of Nations.’ They are known and obeyed by us under the same venerable name. Certain circumstances in our history have caused them to be studied more generally and more anxiously here than in Europe. From the breaking out of the wars of the French Revolution, to the year 1812, the United States knew the law of nations only as the victims of its systematic violation by

the great maritime powers of Europe. For these violations on the part of England, prior to 1794, indemnification was made under the seventh article of Jay's Treaty. For similar injuries on the part of France, we were compelled to accept an illusory set-off under the convention of 1800.

"A few years only have elapsed, before a new warfare upon our neutral rights was commenced by the two powers. One hundred millions at least of American property were swept from the seas, under the British orders in council and the French Berlin, and Milan Decrees. These orders and decrees were at the time reciprocally declared to be in contravention of the law of nations by the two powers themselves, each speaking of the measures of the other party.

"In 1831, after the generation of the original sufferers had sunk under their ruined fortunes to the grave, France acknowledged her decrees to have been of that character, by a late and partial measure of indemnification. For our enormous losses under the British orders in council, we not only never received indemnification, but the sacrifices and sufferings of the war were added to those spoliations on our commerce, and invasion of our neutral rights, which led to its declaration. Those orders were at the time regarded by the Lansdownes, the Barings, the Broughams, and the other enlightened statesmen of the school to which you belonged, as a violation of right and justice as well of sound policy; and within a very few years the present distinguished Lord Chief Justice, placed by yourself at the head of the tribunals of England, has declared that 'the orders in council were grievously unjust to neutrals, and *it is now generally allowed that they were contrary to the law of nations and our own municipal law!*'

"That I call, my Lord, to borrow your expression, 'a melancholy avowal' for the chief of the jurisprudence of a great empire. Acts of its sovereign authority, countenanced by its Parliament, rigidly executed by its fleets on

every sea, enforced in the courts of admiralty by a magistrate whose learning and eloquence are among the modern glories of England, persisted in till the lawful commerce of a neutral and kindred nation was annihilated, and pronounced by the highest legal authority of the present day, contrary not merely to the law of nations but your own municipal law!

“Under these circumstances, the government and people of the United States, who have never committed or sanctioned a violation of the law of nations against any other power, may well think it out of place, that they should be instructed by an English Minister in ‘the utility of these rules which for centuries have been known to Europe by the name of the law of nations.’

“There are several other points in your despatch, some of great public moment, which, if I were still in office, I should discuss on this occasion. I have, however, deemed it proper, at present, to confine myself to such remarks as seemed necessary to vindicate my letter of the 1st of December, from your strictures, leaving the new aspects of the case which your despatch presents, especially in its opening and closing paragraphs, to those whose official duty it is to consider them.”

The elections throughout the states during President Fillmore’s administration had generally resulted in adding strength to the opposition. In 1852, the National Convention of the Democratic party assembled at Baltimore. Resolutions, embodying the principles of the party, were adopted. A large number of candidates were brought before the convention, and forty-nine ballotings were held before a nomination for the presidency could be made. Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, was the nominee. William R. King, of Alabama, was placed upon the same ticket as a candidate for the vice-presidency. Soon after the adjournment of this convention, the National Conven-

tion of the Whig party assembled in the same city. A platform of principles was adopted. The candidates for the great nomination were General Winfield Scott, President Fillmore, and Secretary Webster. On the fifty-third ballot General Scott received the nomination for president. William A. Graham, of North Carolina, was nominated for the vice-presidency. Both of these National Conventions sanctioned, in express terms, the compromise measures. In August, a "Free Soil" convention was held at Pittsburgh, and John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, were nominated for the presidency and vice-presidency. Other candidates were nominated in various sections of the Union.

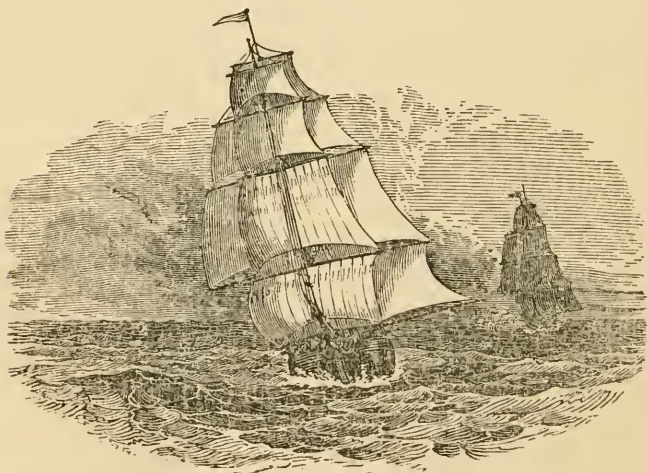
At the election in November of the same year, the candidates of the National Democratic party received majorities in all but four states—Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Tennessee, in which the Whig candidates obtained majorities. The opposition were, therefore, triumphant.

President Fillmore's final message to Congress in December, contained a lucid review of the condition of affairs in the republic, and an argument for the protective policy. Its recommendations were of but little importance to the opposition majority in Congress. The session was chiefly occupied by discussions upon the foreign relations of the Union, especially concerning the movements of Great Britain, Spain, and Mexico. No measure of general importance was adopted. An act, creating the rank of lieutenant-general, intended as a particular honour to General Winfield Scott, passed the Senate, but was laid upon the table in the House. The increase of special legislation was particularly remarkable during this session.

On the 3d of March, 1853, Mr. Fillmore's term of office expired. He remained in Washington to witness the inauguration of his successor, and then retired to his residence

in Buffalo, N. Y. He was still comparatively a young man, and he could look forward to the enjoyment of many happy days of private life, surrounded by an abundance of worldly goods and social delights.

In person, Mr. Fillmore is rather above the ordinary height, and his frame is large and strong. The expression of his countenance is cheerful and benevolent, with unmistakable indications of superior intelligence. His bearing is dignified, courteous, and winning, and his manners are of the true republican stamp. While he held the office of president, one of his daughters might have been found teaching school in New York. No false notions of dignity belong to the family. Mr. Fillmore has a mind of a practical, hard-working order. While in Congress, he had no superior as a "business man," and, in the presidency, he laboured with exemplary care and rare patience. He is an honour to the institutions under which he was fostered, and a noble illustration of what they can confer upon honest merit.







FRANKLIN PIERCE.

THE fourteenth President of the United States sprang from a family well-known in the military annals of the republic, was regularly educated for political life, entered upon the theatre of public events at an unusually early age, and advanced to the highest positions under the happiest auspices. His career is different in many respects from that of all who preceded him in the presidential chair.

FRANKLIN PIERCE is the fourth son of Benjamin Pierce, of Hillsborough, New Hampshire. The father was an extraordinary man. He was a native of Massachusetts, and he followed the plough till he was seventeen years of age. Enlisting as a common soldier in the revolutionary ranks of his countrymen, he fought bravely, and at the end of the struggle, quitted the army with the rank of a captain. He then bought a farm at Hillsborough, New Hampshire, settled down, became popular, and was made a brigadier-general in the militia. He married twice. His second wife, Anna Hendrick, was the mother of the subject of this memoir. General Benjamin Pierce subsequently held numerous civil offices in New Hampshire, and was twice elected governor. He died in April, 1839.

Franklin Pierce was born at Hillsborough, on the 23d of November, 1804. As a child he was remarkable for energy and intelligence. His father, having felt the inconveniences of a defective education, determined to give him

every opportunity for improvement, and at an early age sent him to an academy at Hancock. The boy was afterwards sent to an academy at Francistown, where he was received into the family of his father's old friend, Peter Woodbury, where he remained till he was sixteen years of age. In 1820, he entered Bowdoin College, at Brunswick, Maine. His friend and biographer, the brilliant Nathaniel Hawthorne, says that

“During the earlier part of his college course, it may be doubted whether Pierce was distinguished for scholarship. But, for the last two years, he appeared to grow more intent on the business in hand, and, without losing any of his vivacious qualities as a companion, was evidently resolved to gain an honourable elevation in his class. His habits of attention, and obedience to college discipline, were of the strictest character; he rose progressively in scholarship, and took a highly creditable degree.”

He is remembered by his classmates as an officer of a college military company, and as an occasional teacher of a country school, where no regular tutor could be obtained.

Leaving college in the year 1824, young Pierce returned to Hillsborough. He remained at home but a short time. Having chosen the profession of the law, he went to Portsmouth, and entered the office of Judge Woodbury. The last two years of his preparatory studies were spent at the law school of Northampton, Massachusetts, and in the office of Judge Parker, at Amherst. He was admitted to the bar in 1827, and began the practice of his profession at Hillsborough. His first case was a failure, and a very marked one. But his defeat only nerved him to more strenuous efforts, and developed the latent resources of his mind. Yet some years elapsed before he attained distinction at the bar. Politics diverted his attention; for about this period, his father was governor of New Hampshire, and the exciting contest between General Jackson and John

Quincy Adams was at full heat. Governor Pierce and his son were both ardent friends of Jackson.

In 1829, young Pierce was elected to the legislature, to represent the town of Hillsborough. His whole service in that body extended over four years, in the two latter of which he was elected speaker by a large majority. He is said to have performed the duties of that arduous post with an ability that justified his election, although so young a man.

In 1833, Mr. Pierce was elected to represent his native district in Congress. He did not immediately come forward as a speech-maker, but was remarkable for diligence, and a strict attention to business. He was constant and thorough-going in his support of President Jackson's administration. After serving in the national House of Representatives for four years, he was in 1837, elected to the Senate of the United States, being then scarcely of the legal age. At that time, the Senate presented a splendid array of genius and eloquence, and native modesty restrained the youngest member from frequent participation in debate. But he occasionally spoke with effect. In 1840, he delivered a speech upon the subject of revolutionary pensions, from which we extract the following passage, as illustrating the principles that guided his legislative course.

"I am not insensible, Mr. President, of the advantages with which claims of this character always come before Congress. They are supposed to be based on services for which no man entertains a higher estimate than myself—services beyond all praise, and above all price. But, while warm and glowing with the glorious recollections which a recurrence to that period of our history can never fail to awaken; while we cherish with emotions of pride, reverence, and affection the memory of those brave men who are no longer with us; while we provide, with a

liberal hand, for such as survive, and for the widows of the deceased; while we would accord to the heirs, whether in the second or third generation, every dollar to which they can establish a just claim,—I trust we shall not, in the strong current of our sympathies, forget what becomes us as the descendants of such men. They would teach us to legislate upon our judgment, upon our sober sense of right, and not upon our impulses or sympathies. No, sir; we may act in this way, if we choose, when dispensing our own means, but we are not at liberty to do it when dispensing the means of our constituents.

“If we were to legislate upon our sympathies—yet more I will admit—if we were to yield to that sense of just and grateful remuneration which presses itself upon every man’s heart, there would be scarcely a limit for our bounty. The whole exchequer could not answer the demand. To the patriotism, the courage, and the sacrifices of the people of that day, we owe, under Providence, all that we now most highly prize, and what we shall transmit to our children as the richest legacy they can inherit. The war of the revolution, it has been justly remarked, was not a war of armies merely—it was the war of nearly a whole people, and such a people as the world had never before seen, in a death struggle for liberty.

“The losses, sacrifices, and sufferings of that period were common to all classes and conditions of life. Those who remained at home suffered hardly less than those who entered upon the active strife. The aged father and mother underwent not less than the son, who would have been the comfort and stay of their declining years, now called to perform a yet higher duty—to follow the standard of his bleeding country. The young mother, with her helpless children, excites not less deeply our sympathies, contending with want, and dragging out years of weary and toilsome days and anxious nights, than the husband in

the field, following the fortunes of our arms without the common habiliments to protect his person, or the requisite sustenance to support his strength. Sir, I never think of that patient, enduring, self-sacrificing army, which crossed the Delaware in December, 1777, marching barefooted upon frozen ground to encounter the foe, and leaving bloody footprints for miles behind them—I never think of their sufferings during that terrible winter without involuntarily inquiring, Where then were their families? Who lit up the cheerful fire upon their hearths at home? Who spoke the word of comfort and encouragement? Nay, sir, who furnished protection from the rigours of winter, and brought them the necessary means of subsistence?

“The true and simple answer to these questions would disclose an amount of suffering and anguish, mental and physical, such as might not have been found in the ranks of the armies—not even in the severest trial of that fortitude which never faltered, and that power of endurance which seemed to know no limit. All this no man feels more deeply than I do. But they were common sacrifices in a common cause, ultimately crowned with the reward of liberty. They have an everlasting claim upon our gratitude, and are destined, as I trust, by their heroic example, to exert an abiding influence upon our latest posterity.”

With this heartfelt recognition of the debt of gratitude due to those excellent men, the senator enters into an analysis of the claims presented, and proves them to be void of justice. The whole speech is a good exponent of his character; full of the truest sympathy, but, above all things, just, and not to be misled, on the public behalf, by those impulses that would be most apt to sway the private man.*

* Hawthorne.

In the course of the extra session of Congress called by President Harrison, Mr. Pierce made a forcible speech against the removals from office made by the chief magistrate, and argued to show that they were in violation of the pledges made before the election. The friends of the administration contended that the removals were justified by necessity and the circumstances of the time. To this Mr. Pierce replied :

“Sir, this demand of the nation,—this plea of STATE NECESSITY,—let me tell gentlemen, is as old as the history of wrong and oppression. It has been the standing plea, the never-failing resort of despotism. The great Julius found it a convenient plea when he restored the *dignity* of the Roman Senate, but destroyed its *independence*. It gave countenance to, and justified all the atrocities of the Inquisition in Spain. It forced out the stifled groans that issued from the Black Hole of Calcutta. It was written in tears upon the Bridge of Sighs, in Venice, and pointed to those dark recesses upon whose gloomy thresholds there was never seen a returning footprint.

“It was the plea of the austere and ambitious Strafford, in the days of Charles I. It filled the Bastile of France, and lent its sanction to the terrible atrocities perpetrated there. It was this plea that snatched the mild, eloquent, and patriotic Camille Desmoulins from his young and beautiful wife, and hurried him to the guillotine, with thousands of others, equally unoffending and innocent. It was upon this plea that the greatest of generals, if not men,—you cannot mistake me,—I mean him, the presence of whose very ashes, within the last few months, sufficed to stir the hearts of a continent,—it was upon this plea that he abjured the noble wife who had thrown light and gladness around his humbler days, and by her own lofty energies and high intellect, had encouraged his aspirations. It was upon this plea that he committed that worst and most fatal act

of his eventful life. Upon this, too, he drew around his person the imperial purple. It has in all times, and in every age, been the foe of liberty, and the indispensable stay of usurpation.

“Where were the chains of despotism ever thrown around the freedom of speech and of the press, but on this plea of STATE NECESSITY? Let the spirit of Charles X. and of his ministers answer.

“It is cold, selfish, heartless, and has always been regardless of age, sex, condition, services, or any of the incidents of life that appeal to patriotism or humanity. Wherever its authority has been acknowledged, it has assailed men who stood by their country when she needed strong arms and bold hearts, and has assailed them when, maimed and disabled in her service, they could no longer brandish a weapon in her defence. It has afflicted the feeble and dependent wife for the imaginary faults of the husband. It has stricken down Innocence in its beauty, Youth in its freshness, Manhood in its vigour, and Age in its feebleness and decrepitude. Whatever other plea or apology may be set up for the sweeping, ruthless exercise of this civil guillotine at the present day, in the name of LIBERTY let us be spared the fearful one of STATE NECESSITY, in this early age of the republic, upon the floor of the American Senate, in the face of people yet free!”

In June, 1842, he resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States. In 1834 he had married Jane Means, a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Appleton, a former president of Bowdoin College. Three sons had been born to him, the first of whom died in early infancy; and having been kept poor by his public services, he became sensible that he should make some provision for the future. On retiring from the Senate, he took up his residence at Concord, the capital of his native state, and resumed the practice of the

law. He was immediately ranked at the head of the New Hampshire bar. His forensic efforts were distinguished for force and eloquence, and his power over the minds of a jury was surprisingly great. His practice was extensive and various.

In 1846, President Polk offered Mr. Pierce the post of Attorney-General of the United States. But he declined the honour, in a letter every way worthy of a noble republican character. Previous to this appointment, Mr. Pierce had been tendered the position of United States Senator by Governor Steele, and this, also, he declined. A Democratic convention nominated him for governor, but he could not be persuaded to consent to stand as a candidate.

On the breaking out of the Mexican war, Mr. Pierce evinced his patriotism by enrolling himself as a private in a company raised in Concord. On the passage of a bill for the increase of the army, he received the appointment of colonel of the 9th regiment, and shortly afterwards (March, 1847) he was commissioned as brigadier-general in the army.

On the 27th of May, 1847, General Pierce sailed from Newport, in the bark *Kepler*. Large numbers of the troops on board were sick, and suffered from want of water, being upon a short allowance. Under these circumstances, General Pierce shared his own allowance with his men, and mingled with them to encourage them. It was characteristic of the man, for kindness is his nature. On the 28th of June, he arrived at Vera Cruz. Here he encountered pestilence and disease, and was himself taken very ill. But amid disease and death, he had constant and careful thought of the men under his charge. His benevolence was never weary. He spent his money freely, and soon became exceedingly popular.

General Pierce was obliged to remain more than three

weeks at Vera Cruz, in consequence of a want of provisions, while he was for more than four weeks in Tierra Caliente, the vomito region.

At length he marched for Vera Cruz, with a train which, when closed up, extended two miles. He went through a country, and over a road, strong in natural defences, swarming with guerillas, dogged at every step by a wily enemy, with constant alarms and reports of attacks, and was assaulted six times on his road, yet he reached Puebla without the loss of a single wagon, and with his command in fine order. The conduct of the general, in this march—his energy, his vigilance, coolness in difficulty, good judgment and skill in availing himself of the services of his staff—won the highest encomiums from military men of the old line, and elicited the warm commendations of General Scott.

“General Pierce was in action at the National Bridge. Here the Mexicans were strongly posted. The place furnished strong natural advantages. Across the main bridge they had thrown a barricade, and on a high bluff which commanded it, they had added breastworks. There was no way in which this position could be turned, and the general’s artillery would have been ineffective for the most commanding point in which it could be placed. He determined to cross under the fire of the enemy’s escopetes. His order to storm these works was admirably executed. Lieutenant-Colonel Bonham’s battalion rushed forward with a shout, under a heavy fire from the enemy, that struck down many of his men. But they pressed forward and leaped the barricade, followed by Captain Dupreau’s company of cavalry. In ten minutes, the enemy were in flight in every direction. General Pierce was by the side of Colonel Bonham in this attack. Both had narrow escapes. The colonel’s horse was shot, and a ball passed through the rim of the general’s hat. This was a well-devised and

gallant affair, and the fame of it went before General Pierce, and he was handsomely spoken of in the army. This was the first action of importance in which he was engaged.

On the 1st of August, General Pierce was at Perote, and advised General Scott of the state of his command as follows :

“ I shall bring to your command about twenty-four hundred, of all arms. To-morrow morning at four o'clock I shall leave here for Puebla, and shall make the march in four days.”

The men under his care were principally northern recruits; they had suffered much by disease; had been attacked five times by guerilla parties, and yet General Pierce had lost scarcely a man, though in the heart of an enemy's country. On the 6th of August he joined General Scott at Puebla, with his command in excellent condition.

General Pierce was again in action at Contreras, on the 19th of August. His brigade was ordered to attack the enemy in front. He came in sight of the Mexicans at two o'clock in the afternoon, and led his men in the attack. He was under a galling fire of the enemy three hours. As he was leading his brigade through a perfect shower of round shot and shells from the strong intrenchments in front, and the musketry of the infantry, his horse, being at full speed, fell under him upon a ledge of rocks. He sustained severe injury by the shock and bruises, but especially by a severe sprain in his left knee, which came under him. At first, he was not conscious of being much hurt, but soon became exceedingly faint. Dr. Richie, a surgeon in his command, assisted him, and administered to him. In a few moments, he was able, with difficulty, to walk, when he pressed forward to Captain Magruder's battery. Here he found the horse of Lieutenant Johnson, who had just received a mortal wound. He was permitted to take this horse, was assisted into the saddle, and con-

tinued in it until eleven o'clock that night. At nine o'clock he was the senior officer on the field, when he ordered his command to a new position. The night was dark, the rain poured in torrents, and the ground was difficult, yet the general still kept on duty. At one o'clock, in his bivouac, he received orders from General Scott by General Twiggs and Captain Lee, when, at the head of his command, he moved to take another position, to be in readiness to aid in the operations of the next morning. Such was General Pierce's service in the afternoon and night of August 19th.

"At daylight, on the morning of the 20th, his command assailed the enemy with great intrepidity, and contributed much to the consummation of the work begun on the previous day. That morning, Valencia, with seven thousand troops, was defeated. General Pierce still kept the saddle, and was at the head of his brigade. He was ordered to pursue the flying enemy, and as he passed the enemy's works the scene was awful. The road, he says, and adjacent fields were everywhere strewed with the mangled bodies of the dead and dying. 'We continued the pursuit,' he says, 'until one o'clock, when our front came up with the enemy's strong works at Churubusco and San Antonio.' Then (after one o'clock), this great conflict commenced.

"At San Angel dispositions had been made to attack in reverse, the enemy's works on the San Augustine road. General Scott ordered him to march his brigade, in concert with that of the intrepid General Shields, across the open country between Santa Catarina and the above road, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy. This position was promptly reached. The enemy's line was found in perfect order, extending as far in either direction as the eye could reach, and presenting a splendid show. He was vigorously and successfully attacked. At the head of his

command, General Pierce arrived at a ditch, which it was impossible for his horse to leap. He dismounted, and, without thinking of his injury, he hurried forward at the head of his brigade, for about three hundred yards, into the midst of the enemy's fire. Turning suddenly upon his knee, the cartilage of which had been badly injured, he fainted and fell upon a bank in direct range and within perfect reach of the Mexican shot. The rout of the Mexican force was soon complete. Colonel O'Hara, who saw him, and served with him in this battle, says 'he was found in the foremost rank of battle, and through most of that bloody day, he was the spirit of the wing in which he was placed.'

"General Pierce's next service was his connexion with the armistice, which the enemy asked, it was supposed, with a view to peace. He had not taken off his spurs, nor slept an hour for two nights, in consequence of the pain of his knee and his engagements in the field. It was after he had been borne insensible from the battle, and had just recovered from his faintness, that he received notice of the honourable distinction that had been conferred upon him, in being appointed one of the commissioners to arrange the terms of an armistice. He obeyed the summons, was helped into his saddle, rode two and a half miles to Tacubaya, and met the commissioners at the house of Mr. M'Intosh, the British consul-general. The conference commenced late in the afternoon, and at four the next morning the articles were signed.

"General Pierce's next service was in connexion with the battle of Molino del Rey, September 8th. His brigade was ordered into action by General Scott, who commended the zeal and rapidity of its movement. Though the battle had been decided before it reached the field, yet General Pierce brought his command under fire in such fine order as to win praise from the old officers. Here he was for

some time engaged in the honourable service of covering the removal of killed and wounded, and the captured ammunition, from the field. While so occupied—Colonel Riley in his official report writes—‘the 2d infantry—temporarily under the orders of Brigadier-General Pierce—became engaged with the enemy’s skirmishes at the foot of Chapultepec.’ It was in these skirmishes that he exhibited the gallantry that called forth the encomiums of his brother officers, and excited the enthusiasm of the men.

“General Pierce’s next service was in connexion with the battle of Chapultepec. His brigade was assigned an important position on the 12th—the evening previous to the battle—which it was prompt to take. But the general had been for thirty-six hours previous confined to his bed, and was not with his brigade. And it was owing to this illness that he was not, on the 13th, by the side of the brave Ransom and Seymour, storming the heights of Chapultepec. Ill as he was, however, to the surprise of his brother officers, he left his bed on the night of the 13th for the purpose of sharing in the contemplated storming of the Mexican capital on the following morning. It was a most eventful night. The brave General Quitman had fought his way by the gate Belen to a point within Mexico, where, under cover of darkness, he was raising defences in the position he had won to shelter his corps. At this time he was under the guns of a most formidable citadel, which had yet to be conquered. It was such times that called forth the indefatigable energy of the accomplished engineers. Sand-bags were procured. Parapets were completed; formidable batteries were constructed; a twenty-four pounder, and eighteen inch pounder, and an eight inch howitzer, were placed in position—such heavy labour being cheerfully done by the men under the very guns of the great Mexican citadel. Now, one of the gallant regiments in this post of real danger and glory, was the New England ninth—part

of Pierce's command. And during the night, while the vigilant Quitman was overseeing these trenches, General Pierce reported to him in person, received orders to protect Steptoe's light battery, and received General Quitman's thanks for his prompt execution of the orders. At that time there was not an officer in the army who did not expect an assault at daylight. But in the morning a white flag came from this citadel, and gave the first joyful news that Santa Anna had evacuated Mexico!"

In December, of this year, when it was ascertained that active hostilities were at an end, General Pierce returned home, resigned his commission, and retired to Concord, where he had a public reception of a very enthusiastic character. In the course of 1848, the State Legislature presented him with a splendid sword as a token of their esteem for him as a man, and of his gallantry as a soldier.

In the presidential canvass of 1848, General Pierce used his best efforts on behalf of the candidates of the Democratic party; but they were defeated. After the passage of the Compromise measures in 1850, he exerted himself to procure their general approval in New Hampshire; and his influence over his party was shown in several remarkable instances, one of which we will record. The Democrats had nominated John Atwood for governor. That gentleman showed some hostility to the fugitive slave law, one of the compromise measures, and General Pierce not only took decided ground against him, but procured the nomination of another candidate. There was no choice by the people; but Mr. Atwood was defeated in the legislature.

In the autumn of 1850, a convention assembled at Concord for the revision of the Constitution of New Hampshire. General Pierce was elected its president by an almost unanimous vote. During the sittings of the convention, he particularly distinguished himself by a speech

advocating the repeal of a clause in the Constitution rendering Catholics ineligible to office.

In January, 1852, the Democracy of New Hampshire signified its preference for General Pierce as a presidential candidate in the approaching canvass. The demonstration drew from him the following response :

“I am far from being insensible to the generous confidence, so often manifested towards me by the people of this state; and although the object indicated in the resolution, having particular reference to myself, be not one of desire on my part, the expression is not on that account less gratifying.

“Doubtless the spontaneous and just appreciation of an intelligent people is the best earthly reward for earnest and cheerful services rendered to one’s state and country; and while it is a matter of unfeigned regret that my life has been so barren of usefulness, I shall ever hold this and similar tributes among my most cherished recollections.

“To these, my sincere and grateful acknowledgments, I desire to add, that the same motives which induced me, several years ago, to retire from public life, and which, since that time, controlled my judgment in this respect, now impel me to say, that the use of my name, in any event, before the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, to which you are a delegate, would be utterly repugnant to my tastes and wishes.”

On the 12th of June, of the same year, the National Democratic Convention assembled at Baltimore. The session continued four days. On the forty-ninth ballot, General Pierce received 280 votes, to 11 for all other candidates, and was declared the nominee of the party for the presidency. This unexpected honour astonished General Pierce. To the committee sent to inform him of his nomination he replied :—

“I have the honour to acknowledge your personal kind-

ness in presenting me, this day, your letter, officially informing me of my nomination, by the Democratic National Convention, as a candidate for the presidency of the United States. The surprise with which I received the intelligence of my nomination was not unmingled with painful solicitude; and yet it is proper for me to say that the manner in which it was conferred was peculiarly gratifying.

“The delegation from New Hampshire, with all the glow of state pride, and with all the warmth of personal regard, would not have submitted my name to the convention, nor would they have cast a vote for me, under circumstances other than those which occurred.

“I shall always cherish with pride and gratitude the recollection of the fact, that the voice which first pronounced, and pronounced alone, came from the Mother of States—a pride and gratitude rising above any consequences that can betide me personally. May I not regard it as a fact pointing to the overthrow of sectional jealousies, and looking to the permanent life and vigour of the Union, cemented by the blood of those who have passed to their reward?—a Union wonderful in its formation, boundless in its hopes, amazing in its destiny.

“I accept the nomination, relying upon an abiding devotion to the interests, honour, and glory of the whole country, but, above and beyond all, upon a Power superior to all human might—a Power which, from the first gun of the revolution, in every crisis through which we have passed, in every hour of acknowledged peril, when the dark clouds had shut down over us, has interposed as if to baffle human wisdom, outmarch human forecast, and bring out of darkness the rainbow of promise. Weak myself, faith and hope repose there in security.

“I accept the nomination upon the platform adopted by the convention, not because this is expected of me as a candidate, but because the principles it embraces command

the approbation of my judgment; and with them, I believe I can safely say, there has been no word nor act of my life in conflict."

The canvass was very spirited. The question of slavery entered largely into the stump discussions, and created an excitement which the day of election only could allay. The result was highly gratifying to the Democratic party. Their candidates were chosen by a larger majority of electoral votes than had ever been received, except by Washington and Monroe.

Not long after his election to the highest office in the gift of the people, General Pierce met with a severe affliction. By an accident on a New England railroad, his only child—a boy about eleven years of age—was killed. This was a striking illustration of the manner in which the proudest of human joys are often darkened by the shadow of death.

On the 4th of March, 1853, General Pierce was inaugurated president of the United States. His inaugural address was brief, but clear and decisive, and characterized by a tone of conciliation and compromise. The vice-president elect, William R. King, of Alabama, took the oath of office, but did not survive to enter upon a performance of his duties. He died at Havana in the latter part of the spring.

President Pierce organized his cabinet as follows:—William L. Marcy, of New York, secretary of state; Robert M'Lelland, of Michigan, secretary of the interior; James Guthrie, of Kentucky, secretary of the treasury; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, secretary of war; James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina, secretary of the navy; Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, attorney-general; and James Campbell, of Pennsylvania, postmaster-general. The members of the cabinet were selected to harmonize the various sections of the Democratic party.

The foreign relations of the republic first engaged the attention of the new administration. Mexico contested

the boundary of the territory of New Mexico, claiming the Mesilla valley, and hostilities were only warded off by the moderation of Colonel Sumner, the commandant of the United States forces in the territory. Spain evinced much anxiety in regard to Cuba. Great Britain contested the right of the New England fishermen, to catch fish within three miles of the coast of British America, and much ill-feeling between the two countries grew out of the seizure of American fishing-smacks. An expedition, under Commodore Perry, was sent to Japan to invite or to compel the formation of a commercial treaty, and exciting results were anticipated. But an event now occurred which diverted public attention from all these matters, and threatened hostilities in another quarter. As this affair marks the commencement of a new era in American policy, the particulars of the case assume an importance which renders them worthy of narration.

Martin Koszta was one of the numerous victims of oppressed liberty, who after the defeat of their cause in 1849, went from the battle fields of Hungary to seek an asylum in the hospitable land of the Sultan. Subsequently he left Turkey to find a free and happy home in the United States, and, while in New York, he renounced all allegiance to the House of Hapsburg, and in legal form, declared his intention of becoming an American citizen. Being afterwards called by private business to Smyrna and Constantinople, he sailed for those places, where, as is natural, he placed himself under the protection of the American flag. At Smyrna he was kidnapped on the 22d day of June, 1853, by an armed force sent by the Austrian consul-general for that object, and was secured by his order, on board the Austrian brig of war Hussar. The manner in which this act was committed can be described in no words sufficiently expressive of the indignation it has elicited throughout the civilized world. Mr. Osley, United States consul at Smyrna, imme-

diately protested against that act, but his protest had no weight against despotic power, and Koszta remained in the hands of his captors. Fortunately, by one of those providential acts of "manifest destiny" which often come to the help of the weak and thwart the designs of the unscrupulous, the United States sloop of war, *St. Louis*, hove in sight off the harbour of Smyrna on the following day. The United States consul promptly presented himself on board, and represented the facts of the case to Captain Ingraham, who immediately showed himself ready to vindicate the cause of justice and humanity, and to force the respect due to the American name and the American flag. The gallant captain, accompanied by Mr. Offley, went on board the Austrian brig to inquire for Koszta, but the officer in command denied the presence of the prisoner on board. They, then, proceeded to the Austrian consul, who, firstly, refused to meddle in the matter, and finally, after being addressed in such language as the circumstance required, consented to permit the United States officials to see Koszta on board the *Huszar*, and to question him respecting his nationality. The kidnapping by the Austrians, and in such manner, of a man enjoying American protection in a neutral land, placed poor Koszta in such an agitated state, that when he saw the interrogators, mistaking them for the executioner going to take his life, and seeing no way of salvation, exclaimed, "That he was a Hungarian, and that he should die such." These words, used in a moment of wild excitement by the prisoner, were interpreted by the Austrians as his relinquishment of American protection, and the matter was postponed until further consideration. A few days after, information being brought to Captain Ingraham, that Koszta was to be sent to Trieste in one of the Austrian steamers, he brought the guns of the *St. Louis* to bear on the brig *Huszar*, in order to prevent the departure of the prisoner without more distinct explanation; and on the morning of the 2d July, he

went personally on board the *Huszar* and addressed Koszta the question, whether he claimed, or not, the protection of the United States?—Upon Koszta's reply that he "claimed it," Captain Ingraham said that he should have it, and immediately demanded Koszta from the Austrian captain. The latter declined complying with the demand, and stated that Koszta was under the orders of the Austrian consul—whereupon the gallant captain notified him that if Koszta was not delivered to him before 11 A. M., of that day, he should take him; and, in an American spirit, he cleared his deck for action. It may be stated here that the relative forces of the Americans and the Austrians in Smyrna harbour were, the United States sloop of war *St. Louis*, of twenty-four guns, on the American side, and the brig *Huszar*, of sixteen guns, a schooner of twelve guns, and three commercial steamers, fitted up for the circumstance, with four guns each, making in all forty guns on the Austrian side. The Austrian consul, alarmed at the firmness of the gallant captain, and seeing the impossibility of carrying out his project, entered then into negotiation with Mr. Offley, and by mutual agreement between them, Koszta was placed in the charge of the French consul until the matter be decided by their respective superiors. So far, Koszta was safe; but he was still a prisoner in the keeping of the French consul, who by the agreement above mentioned, was not at liberty to release him until the two governments should have decided upon his final disposition.

The Austrian government soon afterwards sent the following diplomatic protest to the ministers of the several foreign powers represented at Vienna:

"The events of the 2d of July, at Smyrna, present, in a double point of view, a serious deviation from the rules of international law.

"1. The commander of the United States ship of war *St. Louis* threatened his Imperial Majesty's brig, the

Huszar, with a hostile attack, levelling his guns against the latter, and announcing, in writing, that if a certain individual, detained on board, and whose nationality was contested between the agents of the two governments, was not surrendered to him at a certain hour, he would take him by force.

“2. This act of hostility was committed in the port of a neutral power, the friend of the two nations. No doubt the threat to attack the ship of a sovereign state, and which carries its flag, is nothing less than a menace of war. Now the very right to make war is necessarily, and by the very nature of that right, inherent in the sovereign power. ‘A right of such great importance,’ says Vattel, ‘Law of Nations,’ vol. 2, book 3, chap. 1, ‘the right of judging whether a nation has a real subject of complaint, if it be a case to use force to take justly—if prudence permits it—if the good of the state requires it—this right, I say, can only belong to the nation or to the sovereign which represents it. It is, no doubt, among the number of those rights without which a government cannot be conducted in a salutary manner, and which is called the right of majesty.’ The founders of the republic of the United States of America have fully acknowledged from the commencement of the Union, the right reserved for the sovereign power. The articles of confederation and perpetual union between the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, &c., of the 9th of July, 1778, contain the following stipulations:—‘The Congress of the United States shall alone, and exclusively, exercise the right of declaring war and making peace.’

“This basis of the public law of North America has been maintained and sanctioned by the Constitution of the United States of the 18th of September, 1787, which, in the 8th section, explicitly reserves to the Congress the power of declaring war. The Constitution of the United States is, in this respect, in perfect harmony with the public law of

Europe. But this right, which is reserved for the supreme power of each state, would be illusory and null if the commanders of naval forces, or others, were authorized, either explicitly or tacitly, to undertake, either at their own suggestions, or at the command or with the assent of a diplomatic or consular agent, acts of hostility or of war against the ships or troops of another nation, without a special order from the supreme authority of their country, notified in the terms prescribed by the law of nations. It is impossible that the regular governments of the civilized world should expose their authority, as well as the general peace, to the chance of hostilities commenced without their knowledge, and without the special authority of the sovereign power, by any functionary in foreign parts.

“We arrive at the second of the two questions of international law mentioned above. There is no doubt that if there be any point of maritime and international law precise, clear, and adopted by all nations in the world, it is the inviolability of neutral ports, the absolute prohibition to commit any acts of war or violence there, even against an enemy against whom war had been declared. Modern history affords but few examples of the latter case. One of those rare examples is the attack of the Dutch East India fleet which had entered the port of Bergen in Norway, by an enemy’s admiral; and although that attack was repulsed by the cannon of the forts of the neutral port, Vattel, an authority universally acknowledged on the law of nations, nevertheless accuses Denmark, the neutral power, of having complained too quietly of a proceeding so injurious to its dignity and its rights. In order the better to establish the accord between all nations and all legists on this question, we may quote the authority of an American statesman.

“The following is the opinion pronounced by Mr. Henry Wheaton :

“The rights of war cannot be exercised except within the territory of the belligerent powers, or out at sea, or within a territory having no owner. It follows that hostilities cannot be fairly exercised within the territorial jurisdictions of the neutral state, which is the common friend of the two parties. Not only are all captures made by belligerent cruisers within that jurisdiction illegal and null, but the captures made by ships of war, which place themselves within bays, rivers, at the mouth of rivers, or in the harbours of a neutral state, to exercise the rights of war from that station, are likewise null. For example, when a British privateer stationed herself in the river Mississippi, in the neutral territory of the United States, to exercise the rights of war from that point, by going and coming, by obtaining information at Belise, and by searching ships which were descending the river—when this privateer, we repeat, effected a capture at about three English miles from the islands of sand formed at the mouth of the Mississippi, Sir W. Scott ordered the restitution of the captured ship. On the same principle, when a belligerent ship, being in a neutral territory, effects a capture with her boat outside of that territory, the capture is considered null. For although the enemy’s force was employed against the vessel captured without the territory, no one can be permitted to make such use of a neutral territory in order to carry on war. (The Anna, Nov., 1805, Robinson’s Admiralty Reports, vol. 5, page 373.)

“If every act of hostility against a declared enemy within the territorial jurisdiction of a neutral state, which is on terms of friendship with the two parties, be disloyal—if captures effected by belligerent cruisers within the bays of the neutral state, or even by boats of ships without the territory, while the ships remain within it, are null and illegal, according to the laws of the United States, and according to the decrees of the Maritime Tribunals of Great

Britain, the attack of a ship belonging to a friendly power in a neutral port would merit to be still more severely stigmatized."

To this protest, which was communicated to the American government by the Chevalier Hulsemann, Secretary Marcy made a powerful reply.

The following are the main points in Mr. Marcy's letter :—After evincing a desire to conduct the controversy in a friendly manner, he proceeds with a full statement of the facts, claiming that Koszta was an American citizen, and unlawfully seized by the Austrian authorities. He then continues thus :—"His Imperial Majesty demands that the government of the United States shall direct Koszta to be delivered to him ; that it shall disavow the conduct of the American agents in this affair, call them to a severe account, and tender satisfaction proportionate to the outrage. In order to arrive at just conclusions, it is necessary to ascertain and clearly define Koszta's political relation with Austria, and with the United States, when he was seized at Smyrna. This is the first point which naturally presents itself for consideration ; and perhaps the most important one in its bearings upon the merits of the case. There is great diversity, and much confusion of opinion as to the nature and obligations of allegiance. By some it is held to be an indestructible political tie, and though resulting from the mere accident of birth, yet for ever binding the subject to the sovereign. By others it is considered a political connexion, in the nature of a civil contract, dissoluble by mutual consent, but not so at the option of either party. The sounder and more prevalent doctrine, however, is that the citizen or subject having faithfully performed the past and present duties resulting from his relation to the sovereign power, may at any time release himself from the obligation of allegiance ; freely quit the land of his birth or adoption, seek through all countries for a

home, and select anywhere, that which offers him the fairest prospect of happiness for himself and his posterity. When the sovereign power, wheresoever it may be placed, does not answer the end for which it is bestowed—when it is not exerted for the general welfare of the people, or has become oppressive to individuals—this right to withdraw rests on as firm a basis, and is similar in principle to the right which legitimates resistance to tyranny. The conflicting laws on the subject of allegiance are of a municipal character, and have no controlling operation beyond the territorial limits of the countries enacting them. All uncertainty, as well as confusion on this subject, is avoided by giving due consideration to the fact that the parties to the question now under consideration are two independent nations, and that neither has the right to appeal to its own municipal laws, for the rules to settle the matter in dispute, which occurred within the jurisdiction of a third independent power. Neither Austrian decrees nor American laws can be properly invoked for aid or direction in this case, but international law furnishes the rules for a correct decision, and by the light from this source shed upon the transactions at Smyrna, are its true features to be discerned.

“Kosztá being beyond the jurisdiction of Austria, her laws were entirely inoperative in his case, unless the Sultan of Turkey has consented to give them vigour within his dominions by treaty stipulations. The law of nations has rules of its own on the subject of allegiance, and disregards generally all restrictions imposed upon it by municipal codes. This is rendered most evident by the proceedings of independent states in relation to extradition. No state can demand from any other, as a matter of right, the surrender of a native born or naturalized citizen or subject, an emigrant, or even a fugitive from justice, unless the demand is authorized by express treaty stipulation. International law allows no such claim, though comity may some-

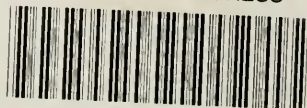
times yield what right withholds. To surrender political offenders (and in this class Austria places Koszta) is not a duty, but on the contrary, compliance with such a demand would be considered a dishonourable subserviency to a foreign power, and an act meriting the reprobation of mankind."

The secretary of state then proceeds to remind the Austrian minister of what took place in 1849 and 1850, in relation to the reclamation of Polish refugees in Turkey by Russia, and of Hungarian refugees by Austria, showing that the principle for which he argued was then admitted by those two powers. The whole affair excited intense feeling in the United States as well as in Europe. This alone indicates that the administration of President Pierce will be a very marked one in the history of the republic.

In person, President Pierce is rather above the ordinary height, and somewhat thin. His hair is tinged with gray, and his eyes are blue, bright, and piercing. The expression of his countenance is that of quick apprehension, and earnest determination. His manners are winning and courteous. As an orator he is always pleasing, and often forcible. His addresses evince much elegance of composition.

THE END.

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